

UNIVERSITY OF ZULULAND

**THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF STATE FORMATION PROCESS UNDER
EMPEROR SHAKA ZULU AND ITS IMPACT IN SOUTHEAST AFRICA**

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Emperor Shaka kaSenzangakhona Zulu

(Imperial (British) Blue Books, 1820 – 1841, University of London)

DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS

This research work entails several terms whose use require definition and some explanation. This is imperative because they are vernacular terms, and also due to the fact that they have enjoyed a lot of critical reflection. Definition and explanation of terms are also attributed to their demise and suggested disuse in certain epochs. Thus, such terms are defined and explained hereunder:

Culture is an integrated pattern of human knowledge, belief and behaviour. It consists of language, ideas, beliefs, customs, taboos, codes, institutions, tools, techniques, works of art, rituals, ceremonies and other related components. The development of culture depends upon man's capacity to learn and transmit knowledge to succeeding generations

Chief was used as an English translation of *inkosi*. However, with the advent of chiefs being appointed by the colonial government and some being made to comply with colonial manipulation the term 'chief' was loathed by *amakhosi* as connoting colonial manipulation.

Chieftdom is a polity historically grown from a kinship ideology of patrilineal descendency of its leadership, marriage of women into a group and some people seeking allegiance and joining that group.

Tribe is a referent to a traditional community with an emphasis on kinship origins and thus an ethnic element in the affinity of the people who form it. It was assumed to be a polity bigger than a clan which would still have traceable kinship linkages between its members at least at the level of kinship houses or segments. The use of tribe is not qualified by the use of inverted commas in this document because of its extensive use in the archival documents that were analyzed here. It is declared here that the anthropological reservations on this term are confirmed by the very nature of revelations of the creation of some units with questionable ontology as polities. The reservations are acknowledged and it is used here to reflect how they were used in the context of the shifting timeframes analyzed here.

Genealogy	in this thesis refers to a patrilineal line of kinship through generations with specific indications of relationships of marriage and consanguinity.
Polity	refers to traditional communities, lineages or clans that operate as political units. ‘Traditional communities’, ‘lineages’ and ‘clans’ or ‘tribe’ and ‘isizwe’ tend to beg for specific customization to a particular narrative context and beg for extensive explanation. In some of the narratives it is not easy to understand whether the community referred to in history had attained characteristics of ‘isizwe’, mere ‘lineage’ or ‘chiefdom’ and yet it is clear that it was functioning as a political unit irrespective of its size and influence. Thus the use of polity in this report refers to social units as political units with some form of governance recognized by those social units.
Traditional community	means a unit of people who hold an allegiance to the one traditional council normally under the leadership of an inkosi; some local logic such as kinship ideology and <i>ukukhonza</i> accounts for the community being qualified as traditional. Traditional communities are also referred to here as polities: the two terms are used interchangeably depending on whether it is the affinity between people or the governance issues that are important in the line of argument.
State	is a form of political association or polity that is distinguished by the fact that it is not itself incorporated into any other political associations, though it may incorporate other. The state is thus a supreme corporate entity because it is not incorporated into any other entity, even though it might be subordinate to other powers (such as another state or an empire). Others may define a state as a human community that (successfully) claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory
Nation-building	is the process whereby a society with diverse origins, histories, languages, cultures and religions come together within the boundaries of a sovereign state.

State-formation

is a process where individualised forms of power institutionalise over time. This process involves the incorporation of different social forces in institutions that take a public form within a particular territory.

GLOSSARY

- Induna/Izinduna** are headmen, i.e. the leaders acting as assistants of *amakhosi*. They operate over *izigodi*, the administrative sub-categories of the chiefdoms (*izizwe*).
- Inkosi (pl: amakhosi)** is a senior traditional leader, who is usually male and commonly identified through a combination of kinship principles involving primogeniture, marriage and position of the mother, and other considerations by the appointing family council.
- Isigodi (sing)/Izigodi** refer to geographical sub-categories of the land of *isizwe*. *Izigodi* are administrative categories of *isizwe* headed by *izinduna* (headmen) galvanizing their operation towards reportage to *inkosi* and his council – who constitute a traditional council.
- Isizwe** is a vernacular term for the traditional community – a reference to a people bound by a singular political identity as a group stemming from notions of affinity deriving though not restricted to ethnic and kinship origin. An element of large scale separates *isizwe* from a tribe and thus they cannot quite be used interchangeably all the time.
- Ubukhosi** refers to the actual royal leadership by a specific incumbent or specific house. Sometimes it is used to refer to the governance system of a specific traditional community (*ubukhosi bakwa-*, i.e. the traditional leadership of the-).
- Ukukhonza** means offering allegiance to a traditional leader in a way that acknowledges no kinship linkage but a willingness to subject oneself under the patronage of that leader for material security and identity.
- Umndeni/ family** means the total of members from various living segments, patrilineally-related, who use certain applicable principles to ascertain property or position entitlement.
- Ibutho (sing)/ amabutho** refer to age-group or unit of fighting men; ‘regiment’.

ikhanda (sing)/ amakhanda refer to inkosi's establishment where *amabutho* were quartered.

umuzi (sing)/ imizi): refers to a homestead.

Ingoduso (sing)/ izingoduso refer to a betrothed girl for whom *lobola* has been paid.

Umkhong lobola negotiator (s).

Lobola refers to the conveyance of property (usually cattle/money) from the man's family to the father or guardian of the woman.

Insizwa (sing)/ izinsizwa refer to youth approaching manhood, a young man who has not yet put on the head-ring.

Declaration

I declare that: **THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF STATE FORMATION PROCESS UNDER EMPEROR SHAKA ZULU AND ITS IMPACT IN SOUTHEAST AFRICA**, represents my own work and that all sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and properly acknowledged for future reference.



01 July 2021

M.P. Mbatha

Kwa-Dlangezwa



01 July 2021

Dr M.Z. Shamase

Kwa-Dlangezwa

Supervisor

Quotations

‘We have our own history, our own language, our own culture. But our destiny is also tied up with the destinies of other people - history has made us all South Africans’

Prince Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi, *Traditional Prime Minister to the Zulu King*, 1990.

‘All of our forebears contributed to what South Africa has become. That does not, however, mean that I must apologize to anyone for being born a Zulu, or for having that culture’

Prince Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi, *Traditional Prime Minister to the Zulu King*, 1995.

Dedication

I dedicate this work to my late parents, Mr S.P Mbatha and Mrs Z.M. Mbatha. They grew up at a time when they could not go to school just because they were black. Despite that life-changing set back they understood the importance and value of education and made sure that I got it in loads. Of all the gifts they gave me, the gift of education will forever be one of the greatest. With this gift they opened a world of endless opportunities for me. I am who I am today because of their hard work. They rose above their challenging circumstances to give me something they could only dream of. May their gentle soul continue to find rest in the bosom of the Lord. Unfortunately, they are not here to see the flower they nurtured yield great fruits and they should have been around to enjoy the fruits of their investment.

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Abstract

This study delves deep into and examines the nature and extent of state formation process under Emperor Shaka Zulu and its impact in Southeast Africa. State formation is the initial act of physically endowing a given territory with sovereignty and territorial integrity. This is done via several methods. First, it may be through the annexation of territory. Perhaps a very rare instance is voluntary cooperation by independent territories to form a new state. The second stage is that of creating political order, institutions or political leadership among others. This stage refers to the process of instituting a government and political order that enjoy sufficient legitimacy and authority. At that stage, the average role of the military may be required. The third stage is that of nation-building, which refers to the process of infusing the peoples of a given territory, who otherwise differ as regards custom, religion and sometimes language, with a sense of common belonging and shared identity or in short, what could be called 'national integration'. Using a collection of both primary and secondary sources this argue argue that Zulu state which emerged in the early 1820s in Southeast Africa was forged out of many disparate chiefdoms practising different customs, speaking different dialects and claiming varied historical origins. The Zulu existed amongst other great independent nations – some were never going to allow themselves to be vassals of another kingdom. In that case, Emperor Shaka either befriended them or declared war on them. The consequences of the rise of the Zulu state were far-reaching, as migrations into the interior by attacking splinter groups from coastal communities resulted in countless refugees and the flight of various groups further inland. This created dislocated African communities over large areas. Despite previous theories, which have been used to understand the process such as the great man theory, or self-made leader theory, historians now agree that leaders are mainly produced by the circumstance of the time. The present study opted to use adopt the Power Transition and Role Theories. These theories were of importance to understand the different role played by certain individuals in the process of state formation. These theories also help understand how the transition from agrarian societies to a centralised government.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

This thesis focuses on the nature and extent of state formation process under Emperor Shaka Zulu and its impact in Southeast Africa. Emperor Shaka was the leader of the Zulu state from 1816 to 1828. The Zulu belong to a conglomerate of an ethnic group called Bantu. They settled between uMfolozi and uMhlathuze Rivers. Until the reign of Shaka Zulu, they were a relatively small clan paying their allegiance to the Mthethwa of King Dingiswayo. When his father died, Shaka assumed the Zulu throne and began to change the history of Southern Africa. He extended his throne through conquest and domination beyond what is KwaZulu Natal province today.

The study provides an account that traces the historical development of the Zulu state over time and examines the various factors and circumstances which shaped and dictated the development of Emperor Shaka's state. This study defines a state as a political organization with a centralized government that maintains a monopoly on the legitimate use of force within a certain geographical territory. This is based on revealing, by way of analysis, processes that were involved in Emperor Shaka's state formation.

The process of state formation involves the incorporation of different social forces in institutions that take a public form within a particular territory.¹ The formation of the Zulu state during the early nineteenth century in south-eastern Africa was a moment of great political importance for the inhabitants of Southern Africa. This study posits that the nineteenth century in South Africa is noted for the revolutionary processes that resulted in the formation of new states. State formation in nineteenth-century South Africa had tremendous consequences on how the different people defined or named themselves (identity formation).

This study argues that Emperor Shaka *kaSenzangakhona* was a great emperor and conqueror. He lived in an area of southeast Africa between the Drakensberg and the Indian Ocean, a region populated by many independent Nguni chiefdoms and kingdoms. During his brief reign, more than a hundred chiefdoms were brought together in a Zulu empire which survived not only the death of its founder but later military defeat and calculated attempts to break it up. At the time of his death, the Zulu domains had encompassed various chieftain paying allegiance to him. Shaka chose the solid foundations of good administration, order, and unity for a powerful

¹ A. Saouli: Dilemmas of Late Formation International System and State Survival in the Middle East Case Studies: Saudi Arabia and Iraq, p. 23.

future. His approach to nation-building has been heralded by scholars throughout the world as a brilliant example of military tactic and social understanding. By methodically conquering and integrating the various Nguni chiefdoms and kingdoms occupying this province, Emperor Shaka began to build a well-regulated and unified people who recognised the value of working together for a common benefit.

The early nineteenth-century history was a period of intense interaction among African communities and between the African communities and the Boers, the English colonies, the missionaries, traders and the Griquas in the interior of South Africa. The interactions between these communities brought about changes that fundamentally restructured society. The change included the creation of new nations with new structures for ruling themselves. While scholars of state formation have concentrated on discussions of military confrontations, many other types of relations were forged between these communities.

The rise of Emperor Shaka is often misinterpreted as the reason for many wars (Mfecane) that took place in the 1800s but the push by Europeans to exert their power and influence in Southern Africa is always neglected. The study argues that the Zulu state emerged as one of several important African states that were a product rather than the cause of a long political upheaval. During this time, *amaZulu* existed amongst other great independent nations and some were more powerful than the *amaZulu* and they were never going to allow themselves to be vassals of another nation. In that case, the study argue that Emperor Shaka maintained close military and diplomatic relations with most of the powerful kingdoms and chiefdoms that were existing before the rise of the Zulu state.

CHAPTER ONE

AIMS, OBJECTIVES, AND METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

1.1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a general review and context of the study, problem statement, the aims and objectives of the research and key research questions to be answered by the research. Thereafter, the significance of the research is discussed and a review of the literature pertinent to this study was reviewed and synthesized. The theoretical framework which underpins the study makes up the conclusion of the chapter.

1.2. LITERATURE REVIEW

The subject of state formation has been the subject of great interest since the middle of the nineteenth century in Europe. States in Africa were not formed through any single process or by any one cultural group. In Africa, as elsewhere in the world the origins of each state must be considered in its own right. The idea that states that emerged in Africa were transplants from Europe must be annihilated for it does not recognise African agency. Emperor Shaka Zulu had never been in Europe and the state he created could not be a transplant from Europe. State formation in pre-colonial Africa, as elsewhere, was an internal evolutionary and revolutionary process involving conquest and assimilation of groups by stronger groups.

1.2.1. STUDIES ON PROCESSES INVOLVED IN STATE FORMATION

The literature on state formation in Europe presents a variety of analytic angles to clarify how sovereign territoriality became the constitutive rule for the modern state system. This includes the reasons why some states developed as constitutional or absolutist regimes, and how some states created rational administrative structures which others lacked. However, reflecting on the European historical trajectory is of importance because it generates theoretical lenses through which to view contemporary developments elsewhere.

Hinnebusch in an article titled *State formation and international behaviour*² argues that state formation is the same as state building. He further argues that this process involves the effort of rulers to institutionalise state structures capable of absorbing expanding political mobilisation and controlling territory corresponding to an identity community. He also

² R. Hinnebusch. " State formation and international behaviour". In *The international politics of the Middle East*, (Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 2018)

further his analysis by acknowledging that this process usually produces dominant classes that privately appropriated the means of wealth production, notably land at the expense of peasant-tries or natural resources. Although his article is based on the middle east, but the processes the process involves are the same anywhere in the world. This study is important in understanding the dynamics of the process in other regions.

In his article titled *The role of force in state formation: a comparative analysis*³ Emmanuel Ojo argues that military organisation is the first instrument through which the state furthers its goals and objectives. Ojo argues that the military should be arranged in a hierarchical structure. This means that an army should have but one commander. It also should have discipline, internal communication. Ojo further argues that the military – should be a positive instrument and come into existence by order or decree and with the sole aim of fighting to win wars. This paper is of importance for this study because when Emperor Shaka was on his *en route* to established the Zulu state the first thing he did when he assumed by was to reorganise and expand the Zulu army. In his *amabutho*, he instilled the idea of fighting to win wars. Discipline was at the core of Emperor Shaka's method of training the army.

In an article titled *Ultimate Causes of State Formation: The Significance of Biogeography, Diffusion, and Neolithic Revolutions*⁴ Petersen and Skaaning focus on early state formation, what is interesting in their discussion is that they have been able to move beyond the traditional scope of the state formation literature. This literature has been preoccupied with the European formation of national states and has perceived this experience as providing the general model of state formation processes. In contrast, they focused on states as the more general phenomenon of political coercion-wielding organizations above the level of chiefdoms that not only includes national states but all kinds of states, for example, empires and feudal states. This broader conception of the state also allowed us to move beyond Europe and investigate more ultimate factors behind state formation. On the other hand, however, their paper provides important pieces to the puzzle of why it, specifically, was the European model of the state that came to dominate in the world of today. Hence, they argue that the competitiveness of

³ E. Ojo: "The role of force in state formation: a comparative analysis," *Scientia Militaria, South African Journal of Military Studies*, Vol 43, No. 2, 2015, pp. 65–78.

⁴ P., Michael Bang, and Svend-Erik Skaaning. "Ultimate Causes of State Formation: The Significance of Biogeography, Diffusion, and Neolithic Revolutions / Ultimate Ursachen Für Die Staatsbildung: Die Signifikanz von Biogeographie, Diffusion Und Neolithische Revolutionen." *Historical Social Research / Historische Sozialforschung*, vol. 35, no. 3 (133), GESIS - Leibniz-Institute for the Social Sciences, Center for Historical Social Research, 2010, pp. 200–26

European states grew (at least, in part) out of the continent's biogeography, which facilitated both an early transition to agriculture and the emergence of early states.

In his paper titled *The Origins of African Kingdoms*⁵, Lewis illustrates the development of different types of state formation in Africa. Another common type of state formation which he mentions is the one that involves military victories. He argues that this type occurs in areas where there is a dense population, resources and the nearby strong kingdom. He says they can embark on a war where there is rich reward for war in terms of land cattle or the control of trade routes and tolls) local groups may begin to wage serious wars among themselves under the direction of war leaders. In time one may come to dominate its neighbours and a small state will develop. The origins of some primary states may be explained through processes such as these. Sometimes such kingdoms continue to expand to considerable size and strength.

Doornbos and Kaviraj in their book titled *Dynamics of State Formation: India and Europe Compared*,⁶ provide a comparative analysis of the progression of state formation in India and Europe. Dynamics of State Formation highlights the differences and the commonalities in the respective patterns of state formation, offering new perspectives on the role of the state and citizenship as well as on current trends of marginalization and the emergence of social movements. The first part of the book focuses on the birth of early state forms in the Indian and European historico-cultural contexts. The second part discusses the processes involved in identity formation. The book also discusses the new and emerging issues concerning the role of the state and citizenship. The work concludes with perspectives on past and present patterns of state formation and social transformation in India and Europe.

A paper titled *Warfare and state formation in Sweden, Spain and the Dutch Republic in the early modern period*⁷ is important for this study because it has provided this study with some reflections on the direction of analysis of state formation and state consolidation. The paper examines and points to the military changes as a central part of the political, social and economic transformation of early modern Europe. The paper is important because when Emperor Shaka assumed the Zulu throne in 1816, he affected lasting changes in the military of

⁵ H.S. Lewis, "The Origins of African Kingdoms", *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines*, Vol IV, no 3, 1966, pp. 402-407.

⁶ M.P.M. Doornbos and S. Kaviraj: *Dynamics of state formation: India and Europe compared*. New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1997.

⁷ Paper presented at the conference "Warfare and State Formation - Comparing states, regions, and theoretical perspectives", Copenhagen Business School, 28-29 September, 2006.

the Zulu state. The paper accounts that large armed forces could not develop successfully without various interest groups who needed protection and were willing to pay for it.

In their work titled *State Formation and Political Legitimacy*,⁸ Cohen and Toland argue that the evolution of the state from earlier forms of political organization is associated with revolutionary changes in the structure of inequality. These magnify distinctions in rank and power that outweigh anything previously known in so-called primitive societies. This work explains how and why people came to accept and even identify themselves with this new form of authority. This volume presents a wide range of materials on cultures in both Western and non-Western settings, and across several different historical periods. Included are examples from Africa, Asia, Europe, and the New World. Older states such as Ur, Inca, and medieval France are examined along with more contemporary states including Indonesia, Tanzania, and the revolutionary beginnings of the United States. Using a variety of approaches, the contributors show in each instance how the state obtained and used its power, then attempted to have its power accepted as the natural order under the protection of supra-naturally ordained authority. No matter how tyrannical or benign, the cases show that state power must be justified by faith and experience that demonstrates its value to the participants. Through such analysis, the book demonstrates that states must be capable of enforcing their rule, but that they cannot deceive populations into accepting state domination. The book suggests that social evolution moves toward a less coercive rule and increased democratization.

In *The Role of the Military in State Formation and Nation-Building: An Overview of Historical and Conceptual Issues*, Pisani and Lamb⁹ argue that states and militaries are inextricably linked. They further argue that almost every state possesses a military, with some exceptions being Costa Rica, Mauritius and Haiti; however, these states appear to employ paramilitary police forces instead. The military is an institution that predates the creation of the modern state. Historical accounts indicate that militaries emerged with the establishment of organised human communities, which were the result of a dual need to forcibly acquire territory and/or resources (due to population pressures) under the control of other communities, as well as to protect other hostile communities. In short, militaries were created to make war and/or protect the territorial integrity of the political community. Therefore, militaries are immensely

⁸ Cohen and Toland: *State Formation and Political Legitimacy* (Taylor & Francis Inc: Somerset, United Kingdom, 1988).

⁹ A. Du Pisani and G. Lamb: "The Role of the Military in State Formation and Nation-Building: An Overview of Historical and Conceptual Issues", (with Guy Lamb) (Vol. 111, pp. 6-17).

powerful institutions, and consequently, there has been significant scholarly interest concerning the role that militaries have played in the creation of states and nations, with a significant body of work being written on this issue. This volume seeks to make a modest contribution to this body of knowledge.

1.2.2. STUDIES ON THE NATURE OF THE EMERGENT STATE

Carneiro in his work titled *A Theory of the Origin of the State*¹⁰ suggests that early states emerged when people were forced for natural reasons to live in a circumscribed area. Tilly's argument regarding state formation in Europe focuses on the development of state structures through war and the preparations of warfare. Primarily, it is focused on progress regarding the extraction and redistribution of capital and the monopolisation of coercion by rulers. The emergence of state structures related to capital and coercion allowed rulers to maintain control over the population within a territorial enclave that could be securitised through its coercive forces. Tilly remarks that competition developed over trade and territory, with those who controlled the means of coercion attempting to maintain and increase the total area in which they controlled. Due to increased competition rulers began extracting resources from individuals within the controlled territory; redistributing capital to aid in the development of standing armies that could enforce internal and external security. State formation in Europe, therefore, centred on four broad conditions: neutralizing competitors within the territory controlled by the rulers; deterring rivals through war-making; the protection of allies inside and outside the controlled territory; and resource extraction that could support the first three activities. An unintended consequence of these conditions was that of the development of state structures and, ultimately, the formation of states.

Ugwu in his paper titled *The Process of State Formation in Pre-Colonial East Africa*¹¹ focuses on the formation of states in East Africa. He argues that East Africa comprises the countries of Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda and Burundi, Rwanda, and Northern Mozambique. He argues that the size of these countries was due to the rapid expansion through agriculture, annexation of smaller kingdoms and strong formation of a strong and standing army as well as the fortification of the military. According to his analysis both the physical and the human standpoint, East Africa shares many similarities with Southern Africa, and indeed along the

¹⁰ R.L. Carneiro: 'A Theory of the Origin of the State', *Science New Series*, Vol. 169, No. 3947 (Aug. 21, 1970), pp. 733-738.

¹¹ U. Ugwu: 'The Process of State Formation in Pre-Colonial East Africa,' *An African Journal of Philosophy*, Vol. 9 (1) 2006: pp. 116-119.

common frontier between the two regions, it is difficult to determine with precision exactly where one begins and the other ends. For him both regions belong to highland Africa and the high plateau which is such a conspicuous feature of the physical geography of Southern Africa which extends without a break into East Africa.

Zulu's paper on *The African State: Development and the Common Good*¹² focuses on the formation and character of modern African states which he argues that they present more complexities and nuances when compared to states in other parts of the world. He further argues that the shape and character of the state derive from diverse influences, the colonial heritage, ancestral political traditions and ideological contestations internal and external, particularly of the Cold War, all of which have tampered with the evolutionary processes causing fractured histories and contradictory trajectories. Secondly, he argues that there are variations between Sub-Saharan and North African states in ecological, historical and religious experiences. For instance, while North Africa has a Mediterranean culture and a strong Arab influence, Sub-Saharan Africa does not. He argues that Sub-Saharan Africa is dominated by a post-colonial culture intermingled with traditional cultures.

1.2.3. STUDIES ON EMPEROR SHAKA AND THE FORMATION OF THE ZULU STATE

Henry Francis Fynn and Nathaniel Isaacs¹³ were among the first travellers to write about the Zulu and their consolidation under Emperor Shaka. These authors had an enormous impact on later writing. They saw the development of the Zulu state as the consequence of military successes. Fynn and Isaacs believed that the Mthethwa Inkosi Dingiswayo must have learned the arts of government and war from a contact he had with Europeans at the Cape. Unlike some other writers, Fynn and Isaacs described King Dingiswayo as assuming despotic power hitherto unknown. King Dingiswayo waged war on constantly quarrelling neighbouring ethnic groups to unite them. According to these authors, the Zulu revolution began after Emperor Shaka assumed the Zulu throne. This allowed Emperor Shaka to unite groups under his authority which he did with even greater ferocity. They also saw the state resting on Shaka's personality, fights of succession and ambition. Fynn and Isaacs defined Emperor Shaka as a horrible, detestable savage unparalleled in history who was driven by his victories and a desire to expand

¹² P.M. Zulu: The Pontifical Academy of Social Sciences.

¹³ J. Bird: The Annals of Natal, 1: 60-71. N. Isaacs: Travels and Adventures in Eastern Africa, 2 vols, (ed.), L. Hemnan, (First published, 1836; reprinted Cape Town, 1937). Bird: The Annals of Natal, 1, pp. 166-183.

his nation. They argue that African Mars¹⁴ ultimately depopulated the whole line of coast from the Amaputa River to the Thukela. Other early travellers such as Adulphe Delegorgue reflected on this view of war and conquest by describing Emperor Shaka as the “black Napoleon.”¹⁵ Fynn and Isaacs’ study informed the study’s understanding and conceptualization of the development of the Shaka’s wars and their impact. These authors do not make any reference to state formation nor do they make any reference to the nature and extent of the state formation process and its impact in Southeast Africa. Their studies are important in understanding the origins of different interpretations in which Emperor Shaka was characterised.

Mazisi Kunene in his book titled *Emperor Shaka the Great: A Zulu Epic*¹⁶ presents a fair perspective on the accomplishments of Emperor Shaka. He positions Emperor Shaka as an incredible thinker, who had extraordinary expertise as a key and military virtuoso. This vision recognizes and reconsiders Emperor Shaka as a binding together social and political power that characterized the durable Zulu country. Kunene ventures Emperor Shaka into the legendary familial universe that avows the profound social heredity of the African world view. The epic pursues the life of Shaka Zulu. The sonnet reports his adventures as a lord of the Zulu individuals, delivered extensive advances in State structure and military innovations of the Zulu. A few pundits express worry over the accuracy of the retelling. In any case, Kunene’s embrasure of an African viewpoint on Shaka’s standard communicates an endeavour at understanding the clear repulsions seen by Europeans in Shaka’s history. This indeed is a great account of the history of one of the most intellectually gifted and forward-thinking sons of the Bantu people. Again the epic does not make any reference to the nature and extent of state arrangement but rather it is of much significance to the advancement of this research study.

The rise of Emperor Shaka and the establishment of the Zulu domain in the first quarter of the nineteenth century has for some time been a subject of interest to the student of Southern African history. In the *Oxford History of South Africa*,¹⁷ Leonard Thompson evaluated the different endeavours which had been made to clarify the Shakan unrest. Thompson dismissed speculations of white motivation and communicated the question that the social unrest was essential because of the impact of trade between the northern Nguni chiefdoms and Delagoa

¹⁴ Ibid, p. 168.

¹⁵ Delegorgue is one example. He described Shaka as “the contemporary of Napoleon” Bird, *The Annals of Natal*, 1, p. 470.

¹⁶ M. Kunene: *Emperor Shaka the Great: A Zulu epic*. London: Heinemann, 1979.

¹⁷ L. Thompson: “Co-operation and Conflict: The Zulu empire and Natal”, in H. Wilson and L. Thompson, (eds.), *The Oxford History of South Africa Oxford*, (1969), I, pp. 336-341.

Bay.¹⁸ He was, however, increasingly thoughtful to the suggestion, first advanced by Max Gluckman, and later adopted by Omer-Cooper in *The Zulu Aftermath: A nineteenth-century transformation in Bantu Africa*¹⁹ that the social disruption which happened in south-eastern Africa at the turn of the nineteenth century was the outcome of population pressure. Omer-cooper further argues that the “wars and migrations of the Mfecane were the by-products of a socio-political revolution towards larger communities and wider loyalties. It was a genuine process of nation-building.”²⁰ For Omer-Cooper, the Mfecane included a socio-political revolution as well as a process of state formation. He further views the Mfecane as the progenitor of a variety of new states in southern, central and eastern Africa. In any case, Thompson felt that “it has not been definitively settled that population pressure had achieved a pivotal stage by the time of King Dingiswayo. The proof of statistic patterns among the Nguni in the eighteenth century is questionable and likely to remain so.”²¹ The study shows a critical examination of the components that have been advanced as an account for the state formation in Southeast Africa in the eighteenth century. Nonetheless, these two studies do not address the issue of state formation and its nature and extent under Emperor Shaka. This research has benefitted from understanding different perspectives which have been advanced to explain the development of state formation in Southeast Africa.

William Holden in his work titled *History of the Colony of Natal*²² paid little attention to Emperor Shaka’s achievements. He, like many others, believed that Shaka seized the leadership “by treachery and violence.” Holden explained state-building and war as motivated by the blood lust and ambition of Shaka whom he described as the Modern Attila, the Hyaena Man and The Great Elephant. Other dynamics of state formation as pointed out by some scholars such as social processes and the bulk of the population were largely ignored by Holden. He drew attention to the more amazing or alarming aspects of culture such as cannibalism. Despite his criticism of Isaacs’ work Holden followed his lead in emphasizing the single leader and single group Zulu responsible for the death and destruction probably causing the group to fall upon another.²³ This study alludes to the name of Emperor Shaka and his impact on the

¹⁸ Ibid, pp. 339-340.

¹⁹ J.D. Omer Cooper: *The Zulu Aftermath. A nineteenth-century revolution in Bantu Africa.* (London, 1966), pp. 24-27.

²⁰ J.D. Omer Cooper: *The Zulu Aftermath. A nineteenth-century revolution in Bantu Africa*, p. 5-6.

²¹ H. Wilson and L. Thompson, (eds.): *The Oxford History of South Africa* Oxford, (1969), I, pp. 341.

²² W.E. Holden: *History of the Colony of Natal* (First published, 1855; reprinted Cape Town, 1963), p. 56.

²³ J. Bird: *The Annals of Natal*, 1, p. 42, 43, 49, 57, 342.

formation of the state but does not deal in detail with the specifics of the study. It talks about Shaka in another context and does not refer to the nature and extent of the state formation process under Emperor Shaka Zulu and its impact in Southeast Africa.

In his work titled *History of South Africa*²⁴ Theal describes Emperor Shaka as one of the most ruthless conquerors the world has ever known, a man who was able to call up the Zulu's essential passion for blood so that he could rise to the tower in barbarian fame. This description explained much of Shaka's actions. Theal was also a proponent of white innovation theory. He argues that King Dingiswayo learned about the European military system during his wanderings which took him as far as the border of the Cape Colony. He claimed that this was the account that Zulu themselves believed. However, he admitted the possibility that King Dingiswayo may have reintroduced a previous regimental system and crescent battle formation known two centuries earlier, but whose practice had declined under feeble *amakhosi*.²⁵ After conquering neighbouring groups King Dingiswayo was, according to Theal, satisfied. Emperor Shaka would see was not. He refined the regimental system and embarked on cruel aggressive campaigns and his cruelty was "hardly comprehensible by Europeans."²⁶ Theal argues that Shaka's actions caused some groups to flee into other areas and in so doing prey upon the previous inhabitants causing death and destruction which in turn gave rise to famine and large scale cannibalism. According to Theal, Emperor Shaka was "utterly merciless [and] he set himself the task of not merely conquering but of exterminating the chiefdoms as far as he could reach."²⁷ However, this study also does not refer to the nature and extent of the state formation process under Emperor Shaka Zulu and its impact in Southeast Africa.

Max Gluckman in his work titled *The Rise of a Zulu Empire*²⁸ was the first to move away from the focus on great man theories. He proposed that over-population created an imbalance between population and resources that led to increased competition, political consolidation and warfare. Gluckman suggested that population pressure established the preconditions for the emergence of larger political formations in Southeast Africa. He argued that rapid population growth had reached a crisis point by the end of the eighteenth century. The new situation favoured the development of centralised institutions to control land use and resource

²⁴ G. Theal: *History of South Africa*, 5 (Cape Town, 1964), p. 434.

²⁵ G. Theal: *History of South Africa*, 5 (Cape Town, 1964), p. 435.

²⁶ *Ibid*, p. 438.

²⁷ G. Theal: *South Africa*, eighth edition, (First published 1894; reprinted London, 1917), pp. 163.

²⁸ M. Gluckman: 'The Rise of a Zulu Empire', *Scientific American*, 202, no. 4 (1960), pp. 157–168.

distribution. While Gluckman incorporated a dubious psychoanalytic analysis of Emperor Shaka, he ignored the ideological and religious change. This is a good study but it pays more attention to the demographic evidence that has remained unsubstantiated, this study also does not refer to the nature and extent of the state formation process under Emperor Shaka.

In a piece of work titled **Ecological Factors in the Rise of the Zulu Empire**²⁹ Guy vastly extended the scope of state formation to the environmental/ecological investigation. Guy noted that successful cattle grazing in Zululand depended on two types of grass - sweet veld and sourveld. Access to both was of fundamental importance. Guy hypothesized that a decline in grassland productivity resulted from over-stocking and centuries of unscientific farming practices, which caused soil erosion, bush encroachment, and pasture deterioration on sweet veld grassland in particular. Linked to this was increasing population density, where the productive capacity of the environment was constrained as it became less possible to convert forest and bush to grass and arable land, and migration to new areas became difficult. Consequently, according to Guy, increased violence broke out over diminishing resources, and chiefdoms that had access to a variety of grazing types, such as the Mthethwa, Ndwandwe, and Zulu, became major political units with the aid of this ecological advantage. A major issue with Guy's arguments, as with environmental degradation pathways in the decline of Great Zimbabwe, is the lack of evidence, while the existence of seasonal grazing rotation goes against his argument of unscientific misuse of pastures. Moreover, if there had been overpopulation then it is hard to understand why areas of fertile lands, such as in southern KwaZulu-Natal, were not used for herding, or why excess cattle could not have been removed. Similarly, by overlooking cultivation, Guy's thesis does not explain why the total area of land under cultivation could not have been increased to boost food production. As a result, the study does not address the specifics of the current study.

In a work titled **Drought and Economic Distress: South Africa in the 1800s**³⁰ Ballard stresses that the Zulu state arose in response to over-population, climatic stress, and a declining resource base. Ballard argues that the so-called Madlatule famine at the end of the eighteenth century may have precipitated a potentially destabilising subsistence crisis that undermined existing strategies for feeding the region's population. Ballard argues that the northern Nguni

²⁹ J. Guy: 'Ecological factors in the Rise of the Zulu Empire', in S. Marks and A. Atmore (eds.), *Economy and Society in Pre-Industrial South Africa* (London: Longman, 1980), pp. 103-105.

³⁰ C. Ballard: "Drought and Economic Distress: South Africa in the 1800s", *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 17(2), 1986, autumn, pp. 359-378.

did not have external trade networks in agricultural commodities capable of sustaining them during times of local scarcity. Therefore, during Dingiswayo's reign, survival strategies necessitated material reorganizations involving migrations, trading cattle for food, raiding, and consolidation to gain access to and control over a greater range of suitable grazing and arable land. These, in turn, stimulated a political reorganization under Shaka. Ballard further argues that through the Zulu military regiment system Shaka implemented a social revolution, took control of the labour-power of all Zulu men away from homestead heads, and also controlled population growth. Ballard argues that population pressure on the land was eased considerably as a result of famine and the intense, genocidal warfare that accompanied Shaka's conquests. Reviving some discredited elements of older interpretations, Ballard locates the 'revolution' firmly in the hands of Shaka the 'Black Napoleon' and claims that thousands took flight from his destruction where they "either eked out an existence as hunter-gatherers or resorted to cannibalism. The study has benefitted from this work as it locates the southeast revolution in the hands of Shaka Zulu. But the whole work points to several accounts as a stimulus for the centralization of power Emperor Shaka and does not refer to the nature and extent of the state formation process under Emperor Shaka Zulu and its impact in Southeast Africa.

In *The Zulu Revolution: State Formation in a Pastoralist Society*³¹ David Chanaiwa turned away from speculations about trade in a study that attempted to link Zulu state formation, migrations, and conquests to an intensification of the pastoralist mode of production. He portrays the Zulu 'revolution' as an innovative, indigenous process of state formation, crisis resolution and value orientation" in a pastoralist society.³² As he describes the system, Nguni pastoralist production was based on the capital investment of cattle that were individually owned. Chiefs and wealthy commoners could rid themselves of manual labour altogether by using milk as wages. According to Chanaiwa, the economic and social divisions and deprivation produced by such disparities probably encouraged mass participation in Shaka's revolution. Furthermore, these deprivations were also felt by Zulu princes. The revolutionary leaders capitalised on the centrality of cattle by offering prospects of social mobility through the accumulation of cattle to individuals. Charismatic leaders such as Dingiswayo and Shaka succeeded because of their leadership qualities and secondly because they were able to accommodate and mobilise the socio-economic forces in their societies. In Chanaiwa's analysis

³¹ D.S. Chanaiwa: 'The Zulu Revolution: State Formation in a Pastoralist Society', *African Studies Review* 23 (3) (1980), pp. 1-20.

³² *Ibid*, p. 6.

ideology functions only as an expression of class interests. Again, Emperor Shaka Zulu and state formation do not figure. This work also downplays the role of Emperor Shaka, however, it points to several factors that were occurring in the region that helped King Dingiswayo and Emperor Shaka to fasten the centralization of powers. This work also does not make any reference to the nature and extent of the state formation process and its impact in Southeast Africa.

Guy in his work titled *Analysing Pre-Capitalist Societies in Southern Africa*³³ opened another way of looking at Zulu history with an argument emphasizing the importance of gender to the formation of the state. He began by noting that women and cattle in Nguni-speaking society were more than a measure of wealth: “their accumulation and distribution were pursued out of the need for security and authority, and were a dominant social goal. The drive to accumulate, and the association of accumulation with power and wealth, cannot just be assumed as an unproblematic, universal social feature.”³⁴ The emergence of the Zulu empire must, therefore, be examined in the context of social transformations involving the nexus between women and cattle. Guy did not, however, go on to speculate about the way these crucial mechanisms of control may have been conceptualized by ideology or religion. In this work, the factor that drove state formation was the issue of gender. This study does not deal with gender issues. As a result, it helps the researcher to understand different perspectives advanced by scholars as other factors that brought about state formation in Southeast Africa. Again this work does not refer to the nature and extent of the state formation process and its impact in Southeast Africa.

In an article titled *Were there large states in Southeast Africa before the rise of the Zulu Empire?*³⁵ Norman Etherington points out that the rise of the Zulu state became a staple of undergraduate teaching and graduate research. He further states that there has been distrustful of explanations based on individual genius, scholars looked for environmental, economic, demographic and social forces that might explain the emergence of Shaka’s empire along with other less famous states in the same region. The search continues into the twenty-first century. Over fifty years of research one assumption has gone unquestioned: The Zulu empire was not just a new state, it was a new kind of state – one of several that arose about the same time, some

³³ J. Guy: ‘Analysing Pre-Capitalist Societies in Southern Africa’, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 14: 1 (1987), pp. 18-37.

³⁴ J. Guy: ‘Analysing Pre-Capitalist Societies in Southern Africa’, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 14: 1 (1987), p. 21.

³⁵ N. Etherington: ‘Were There Large States in the Coastal Regions of Southeast Africa before the Rise of the Zulu Empire?’, *History in Africa*, Vol. 31, (2004), pp. 157-183.

of the most prominent being the Swazi, the Ndwandwe, the Gasa, and the Ndebele. His article challenges that assumption, arguing that there is little if any evidence to support it. On the contrary, there are good reasons to suspect that states similar in structure predated those empires. Tracing the process by which the picture of Zulu originality was constructed has a larger importance for historical studies because it illuminates linkages between the colonizer's favoured versions of the past and the projects of "scientific" history in the mid-twentieth century. This paper although is of importance to the study but it does not deal with the nature and extent of the state formation process and its impact in Southeast Africa.

In 1959, anthropologist Monica Wilson³⁶ initiated a line of investigation by suggesting that scholars examine the role of long-distance trade as a factor in Zulu state formation. As evidence, she cites the statement of Henry Frances Fynn, an early Natalian trader, that King Dingiswayo initiated a trade with the northern part of Delagoa Bay as one of his first acts as Mthethwa chieftain. Alan Smith, drawing upon the journals and letters of Portuguese traders and missionaries, has advanced Wilson's proposal by arguing that a flourishing trade existed at Delagoa Bay between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. The lucrative ivory trade with Europe during this period intensified in the second half of the eighteenth century and Smith demonstrates that a significant share of trade originated in Natal. Numerous accounts corroborate this view and indicate that trade routes extended as far south as the Eastern Cape frontier.³⁷ These are important studies for this work but they do not make mention of King Shaka and state formation but instead, they point to material factors that have been pointed out by other scholars as drivers for political centralization in Southeast Africa. These studies again do not make any reference to the nature and extent of the state formation process and its impact in Southeast Africa.

Smith in *The Trade of Delagoa Bay as a Factor in Nguni Politics 1750-1835*³⁸ argues that the competition for control of European trade was instrumental in the consolidation of the Zulu state. He believed that if "these were wars fought over matters of trade, then the increased militarism and consolidation which resulted could be viewed as a logical response to the

³⁶ M. Wilson: *Divine Kings and the "Breath of Men"*, pp. 23-24.

³⁷ A. Smith: 'Delagoa Bay and the Trade of South-Eastern Africa,' in *Pre-Colonial African Trade*, ed. Richard Gray and David Birmingham (London, 1970), 265-89; and Smith, "The Trade of Delagoa Bay as a Factor in Nguni Politics 1750-1835,' in *African Societies in Southern Africa*, ed. Thompson (London, 1971), pp. 171-89, esp. 177-8

³⁸ A. Smith: 'The Trade of Delagoa Bay as a Factor in Nguni Politics 1750-1835', in L. Thompson (ed.), *African Societies in Southern Africa* (London, 1969), p. 183.

necessities of the prosecution of trade.”³⁹ Hedges in his study titled *Trade and Politics in Southern Mozambique and Zululand in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries*⁴⁰ greatly expanded this line of analysis. He attempted to show how control of trade and dispersal of imported goods was used by *amakhosi* to form allegiances and to consolidate power. He challenged previous portrayals of ‘the Zulu’ as a homogenous group. His analysis moved beyond purely economic analysis toward recognition of cultural and ideological factors. These two pieces of work benefitted this study in understanding different factors which had been pointed out as developments that brought about state formation in Southeast Africa but they do not address the specifics of this study. This study focuses on the nature and extent of the state formation process under Emperor Shaka Zulu and its impact in Southeast Africa.

Bonner in his study titled *Emperors, Commoners, and Concessionaires: The Evolution and Dissolution of the Nineteenth-Century Swazi State*⁴¹ suggested a way of empire production, trade, and ideology. He pointed out that the increasing incorporation of northern Nguni groups into European commodity exchange in the Delagoa Bay area caused increased competition and dislocation. Bonner believes that the two forces which shaped change were competition for trade both within and between rival chiefdoms, and competition for scarce combinations of natural resources which could underpin a powerful and expansive tributary state. According to Bonner, the Madlathule famine intensified competition for resources and crystallized the transition from lineage-based society to the tributary state. Bonner points out that what arose was a new tributary mode of production, replete with a new division of labour, the interruption of the homestead head’s control over reproduction and production, and a new aristocratic class cohering around the emperor, and new ideological forms to buttress the new order. These developments were far from uniform and impacted upon groups in varying forms and severity leading to variations in the state structures. Bonner also stresses that cultural factors influenced political developments, pointing for example, to ways in which Swazi politics were influenced by that of the Sotho. Bonner’s study informs this study’s understanding of the development of trade and culture as factors that drove state formation in Southeast Africa but his work does not deal with the specifics of the current study.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ D. Hedges: ‘Trade and Politics in Southern Mozambique and Zululand in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries’, PhD. Thesis, (University of London, 1978).

⁴¹ P. Bonner: *Emperors, Commoners and Concessionaires: The Evolution and Dissolution of the Nineteenth-Century Swazi State*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

Klein et al in *Climate, Conflict, and Society: Changing Responses to Weather Extremes in Nineteenth-Century Zululand*⁴² argue that changing climates affected human societies differently depending on societal structures, cultural perceptions, and their relative vulnerability and resilience. In their study, they explore the complex relationship between climate, conflict, and society in nineteenth-century Zululand. They first reviewed current debates surrounding the links between climatic change, societal transformation and the rise of the Zulu Empire from the late-eighteenth to early-nineteenth centuries. It then considers new empirical evidence relating to conflict and socio-economic changes at a local scale in Zululand from the early-mid-nineteenth century onwards, using a combination of unpublished archival materials written by missionaries and other observers, together with oral histories and traditions. Their analysis highlight how changing precipitation patterns, especially towards drier conditions, may have contributed to changes in societal responses, including dominant narratives about rain-control, the migration, and dissolution of society, and conflicts and unrest. This study does not address state formation as a response to weather conditions but it explored the nature and extent of the state formation process under Emperor Shaka Zulu and its impact in Southeast Africa.

*The Individual in a Social Framework: The Rise of Emperor Shaka of Zululand*⁴³ is an attempt to clarify and examine the role of a 'great man'. These great men are famous in the records of tribal history, and there is a need to which the extent of their actions can be interpreted. The 'great man' whose actions are examined in Gluckman's work is Shaka Zulu who between the years 1816 and 1828 created a single powerful nation by the conquest of many chiefdoms. The author briefly analyses the situation in which Shaka embarked on his conquests and the factors that set him going. This is an important work for this study although it's an article and it has summarized many points which need to be explored in deeper details. This study has benefitted from this work of this scholarly paper as it presents the ways Emperor Shaka embarked on his conquests. However, this is an article and it has summarised significant issues that need to be addressed in detail. Moreover, this paper does not make any reference to the nature and extent of the state formation process and its impact in Southeast Africa.

⁴² J. Klein et al., "Climate, conflict and society: Changing responses to weather extremes in nineteenth century Zululand," *Environment and History*, 24 (3), 2018, pp. 377-401.

⁴³ M. Gluckman: 'The Individual in a Social Framework: The Rise of Emperor Shaka of Zululand,' *Journal of African Studies*, vol. 1, pp. 113-144.

In his work titled *The Eight Zulu Kings*,⁴⁴ John Laband attempted to enquire the trajectory of the eight Zulu kings from being the rulers of an independent African kingdom to their current status of being one of the several constitutional monarchs recognised by the South African state. In the process, He investigates how the Zulu kings attempted to repel the advancing forces of colonialism through diplomacy and armed resistance. He goes on to consider how, after the conquest, they sought to retain, and then to retrieve their lost royal status under colonial, and subsequently under apartheid rule. However, all Laband works reinforce each other, but the technique employed, the emphasis and the specific focus in each one is different. He tried to talk about each Zulu king and their characters. This work does not refer to the nature and extent of the state formation process and its impact in Southeast Africa.

In *The Assassination of King Shaka kaSenzangakhona: Zulu History's Dramatic Moment*,⁴⁵ John Laband tackles some of the questions that swirl around the assassination of King Shaka in 1828, the celebrated founder of the Zulu Kingdom and war leader of legendary brilliance: Why did members of the royal house conspire to kill him? Why were Shaka's relations with the British Cape Colony key to his survival? And why did the powerful army he had created acquiesce so tamely in the usurpation of the throne by Dingane, his half-brother and assassin? In his search for answers, Laband turns to the Zulu voice heard through recorded oral testimony and praise-poems, and to the written accounts and reminiscences of the Port Natal trader-hunters and the despatches of Cape officials. In the course of probing and assessing this evidence the author vividly brings the early Zulu kingdom and its inhabitants to life. He throws light on this elusive character and his unpredictable intentions while illuminating the fears and ambitions of those attempting to prosper and survive in his hazardous kingdom: a kingdom that nevertheless endured in all its essential characteristics, particularly militarily, until its destruction fifty-one years later in 1879 by the British; and whose fate, legend has it, Shaka predicted with his dying breath. This work is a good study in understanding the life and times of Emperor Shaka. This book does not allude to the nature and extent of the state formation process and its impact in Southeast Africa which this study intends to address.

⁴⁴ J. Laband: *The Eight Zulu kings*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers SA, 2018.

⁴⁵ J. Laband: *The Assassination of King Shaka: Zulu History's Dramatic Moment*. Cape Town: Jonathan Ball, 2017.

In *The Dynamics of Power and Conflict in the Thukela-Mzimkhulu Region in the Late 18th and Early 19th Centuries: A Critical Reconstruction*,⁴⁶ John Wright traces the political history of part of what is now Natal in the period from the third quarter of the 18th century to the late 1820s. He briefly describes the nature of the political organization in the region at the beginning of the period. The work further explains how, in the later 18th century, several large paramountcies emerged among the small-scale kingdoms which had previously been in exclusive occupation of the area. It traces continuities between the conflicts which brought about the formation of larger polities and the upheavals which, in the later 1810s and early 1820s, totally transformed the region's political landscape. This, according to Wright's work, was a period when sweeping social and political changes were taking place across an area extending from the northern Transkei through Natal, Zululand and Swaziland into southern Mozambique and the eastern Transvaal. The dissertation does not address the nature and extent of the state formation process and its impact in Southeast Africa. The study has benefitted in understanding the nature of the political organization in the region, especially because it explains how in the later 18th century, several large paramountcies emerged among the small-scale chiefdoms.

Mathieu work titled *Warfare, Political, Leadership, and State Formation: The Case of the Zulu empire, 1808-1879*⁴⁷ examines the origin and the evolution of the nineteenth-century Zulu empire which he used to look at two opposing state formation theories, Robert Carneiro's circumscription theory and Elman Service's theory of institutionalized leadership. Both these theories somewhat clarify the Zulu political developments. Carneiro's explained the origin and territorial expansion of the Zulu empire, while Service's accounted for the beginning of the differentiation of political roles in the Zulu state. The second further developments in Zulu politics involved a limited structural change from dispersed clans to a unified military state. This work is useful and has benefitted this study in that it clarifies the concept of the origin and the evolution of the nineteenth-century Zulu empire using two opposing state formation theories, Robert Carneiro's circumscription theory and Elman Service's theory of

⁴⁶ J.B. Wright: *The Dynamics of Power and Conflict in the Thukela-Mzimkhulu Region in the Late 18th and Early 19th Centuries: A Critical Reconstruction*. PhD thesis submitted to the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 1989.

⁴⁷ D. Mathieu: 'Warfare, Political, Leadership, and State Formation: The Case of the Zulu Empire, 1808-1879', *Ethnology* 38, no.4 (1999).

institutionalized leadership while defining it. This is a good paper but it does not deal with the specifics of this study.

Eldredge in her work titled *Empires and Chiefdoms of South-eastern Africa Oral Traditions and History, 1400-1830*,⁴⁸ examines indigenous oral traditions and histories to explain the factors propelling sociopolitical consolidation and the emergence of chiefdoms and empires in nineteenth-century South-eastern Africa. Her study traces the social and political history of the people of early pre-colonial South-eastern Africa, including the regions of modern KwaZulu-Natal, Swaziland, Southern Mozambique from Maputo Bay southward, and Lesotho. The emergence of well-known southern African empires such as the *amaZulu*, *amaSwazi*, and *abaSotho* empires was the culmination of centuries of sociopolitical developments. During which political control was consolidated in the ruling descent lines of small-scale chiefdoms. She provided the first comprehensive scholarly examination of recorded oral traditions from South-eastern Africa. Eldredge's work chronicles the events and life stories propelling this consolidation and the advent of large-scale chiefdoms and empires. This is a well-researched study and has been of great benefit for this work in understanding factors propelling sociopolitical consolidation and the emergence of chiefdoms in Southeastern Africa.

The book by Elizabeth Eldredge titled, *The Creation of the Zulu Kingdom, 1815–1828*,⁴⁹ traces the emergence of the Zulu empire in Southeast Africa in the early nineteenth century, under the rule of the iconic Emperor Shaka. As opposed to late artistic investigations of myths of Shaka, this book utilizes the lavishness of Zulu oral conventions and an extensive grouping of composed sources to give a convincing account and examination of the occasions and individuals of the period of Shaka's standard. The oral customs depicted Emperor Shaka as compensating fearlessness and dedication and rebuffing disappointment. However, kind to poor people and rationally impaired. The rich and various oral conventions, transmitted from era to era, uncover the critical parts and destinies of men and ladies, regal and subject of the individuals who encountered Emperor Shaka. This work has also formed the foundation of this study especially in understanding the role of Emperor Shaka in the formation of the Zulu empire. This book also does not explore the nature and extent of the state formation process under Emperor Shaka and its impact in Southeast Africa.

⁴⁸ E.A. Eldredge (*Empires and Chiefdoms of South-eastern Africa Oral Traditions and History, 1400-1830*. Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press, 2015)

⁴⁹ E.A. Eldredge (*The Creation of the Zulu Kingdom, 1815–1828*, Cambridge University Press, 2014)

In *Terrific Majesty: The Powers of Shaka Zulu and the Limits of Historical Invention*⁵⁰

Terrific Majesty explores the reasons for the potency of Shaka's image, examining the ways it has changed over time--from colonial legend, through Africanist idealization, to modern cultural icon. The book suggests that tradition cannot be freely invented, either by European observers who recorded it or by subsequent African ideologues. Some particular historical limits and constraints operate on the activities of invention and imagination and give the various images of Shaka their power. These insights are illustrated with subtlety and authority in a series of highly original analyses. *Terrific Majesty* is an exceptional work whose special contribution lies in the methodological lessons it delivers; above all its sophisticated rehabilitation of colonial sources for the pre-colonial period, through the demonstration that colonial texts were critically shaped by indigenous African discourse. With its sensitivity to recent critical studies, the book also has a wider resonance in the fields of history, anthropology, cultural studies, and postcolonial literature. The book does not address the specifics of this study.

The book, *uZulu, Umlando Nobuqhawe BukaZulu*,⁵¹ covers a variety of issues such as the challenges related to the origin and establishment of the Zulu kingdom by its founder, King Shaka Zulu. This work explores 800 years of Zulu history before the arrival of the colonisers. The book explains the basic life of Zulu. It explains what occupied their day. The author highlights how they practised medicine hundreds of years ago and the objects they made out of horns and woods. But what is important about this work is that it covers a comprehensive history of the Zulu kings from Shaka to the current reigning king. This is good work as it addresses the histories of each of the Zulu kings but it does not address the specifics of the current study. Mbatha's new book succeeds in retelling the story of Shaka Zulu's foreign relations with other African nations. It does not make any reference to the nature and extent of state formation nor make any reference to its impact in Southeast Africa.

In his book titled, *The House of Shaka: The Zulu Monarchy illustrated*,⁵² Ballard gives a crisp, concise biography on each of the eight Zulu emperors from Shaka, the founder of the empire, down to the career of the present monarch, Emperor Zwelithini kaBhekuzulu. Ballard provides a measured and balanced assessment of the events and processes that each Zulu

⁵⁰ C. Hamilton: *Terrific Majesty: The Powers of Shaka Zulu and the Limits of Historical Invention*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1998.

⁵¹ S. Mbatha: *UZulu, umlando nobuqhawe bukaZulu*. Johannesburg: Izigi ZamaMbatha, 2017.

⁵² C. Ballard: *House of Shaka: The Zulu Monarchy Illustrated*. Durban: Emoyeni Books, 1998.

emperor encountered together with some revealing insights into their personalities and characters, their triumphs and follies. This is a highly readable narrative that enhances more than a hundred illustrations, sketches and period photographs the largest and most comprehensive collection of rare and historic photographs. It is good to work although published in a single volume. This work does not address the nature and extent of the state formation process under Emperor Shaka and its impact in Southeast Africa.

The review of historical and anthropological literature on the Zulu empire demonstrated that most studies have concentrated on political, economic or social change and some have combined those factors highlighting relationships. There has been a little systematic, integrated study of emperor Shaka and political change in Southeast Africa.

1.3. PROBLEM STATEMENT

Most of the writing about Shaka and the society he lived in has been plagued by inaccuracies and misinterpretations. These misinterpretations and inaccuracies have been due to poor research while in others, to the general prejudices that have characterised most writings on Africa by Western scholars. The result is a historiography that does not fully recognise African agency. Most importantly, there is a lack of analysis of the context within which Emperor Shaka emerged and grew to become one of the most powerful leaders in Southeast Africa. This has also been followed by a lack of research in the processes that are involved in the state formation process.

Southern Africa is by far the sub-division of Africa that experienced the hottest political trauma in Africa and the 20th century suffered political crises than any part of the world. For that reason alone, there is a need to study and understand the internal developments in the region. One study of Southern African history must alert their consciousness and awareness of the internal developments of South Africa from 1800 – 1914 which later affected the political history of the region against the blacks in the 20th century.

This thesis sets out to explore the nature and extent of the state formation process under Emperor Shaka and its impact in Southeast Africa. A study like this has not yet been subjected to a scholarly enquiry by historians. It has been argued that Emperor Shaka formed a powerful kingdom after he conquered powerful kingdoms that existed before him. This study argues that after conquering kingdoms in Southeast Africa, Emperor Shaka formed what was larger than a kingdom and could be referred to as a state. Those writing about southern Africa in pre-colonial

times have distinguished between two broad levels of political organisation, chiefdoms and states. The terms 'chiefdom' and 'kingdom' is used to mean a relatively small-scale polity, organised under the leadership of a king. In this study 'states' are distinguished from 'chiefdoms' as larger polities incorporating many chiefdoms under the centralised rule of a paramount king. The state is further characterized by the existence of centralised, often bureaucratic administrations, standing armies under the control of the king, and in many cases, the existence of distinct social classes.

This thesis, therefore, sets out to fill this yawning gap and confusion in the historiography of Southern Africa. The state formation process under Emperor Shaka was the most remarkable and enigmatic event in the history of Southern Africa, and one still mired in controversy. A problem that continues to trouble scholars is how Emperor Shaka Zulu, leader of the relatively obscure Zulu clan, was able to convert a highly decentralized political system into a major state in such a short time. Most staggering than these difficult questions is the demographic significance of state formation as it expanded the Zulu domains. The impact of state formation was felt throughout southern, central and eastern Africa.

1.4. JUSTIFICATION

This study focuses on the nature and extent of the state formation process under Emperor Shaka and its impact in South Africa. This study is of importance as the process of state formation involved processes that brought about the displacement of people as far as Zambia, Zimbabwe and Mozambique. It has been argued in many written historical sources that Emperor Shaka Zulu conquered and dominated powerful kingdoms in Southeast Africa in the early 19th century. This study argues that what came after, when Emperor Shaka defeated the powerful kingdoms and clans of Southeast Africa, cannot be referred to as a Zulu 'Kingdom'. He created a state out of the powerful kingdoms in Southeast Africa. Because history has been written and manipulated by several individuals who continued to implant that nations and states can only be found in Europe and Africa, one will only find tribes and clans in Africa.

The nature, extent and impact of state formation under Emperor Shaka has not received much attention from scholars. States do not simply spring up suddenly but rather are the results of gradual processes which needs to be explored in detail. The lack of focus on the nature, extent and impact of state formation under Emperor Shaka in Southeast Africa has limited our understanding of state formation in Southern Africa. The motivation of this study is driven by the fact that research on the nature and extent of the state formation process under Emperor

Shaka Zulu and its impact in Southeast Africa has been neglected by many scholars. The period of state formation in Southeast Africa is a period of great importance as it produced drastic changes in the settlement pattern of Southeast Africa.

Studies on Emperor Shaka Zulu are of importance because Emperor Shaka *kaSenzangakhona* remains perhaps the most talked about and the least understood. The image perpetuated of him in the European world was shaped during his lifetime by a handful of white adventurers, whose letters and memoirs deliberately blackened Shaka's reputation for their ends, and did lasting damage to his name. After the triumph of colonialism, white historians justified their control over many African territories particularly the Zululand by using that image to damn as cruel and corrupt the independent political systems they had displaced.

1.5. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The principal aim of the study is to give an analysis of the nature and extent of the state formation process under Emperor Zulu and its impact in Southeast Africa. Thus, the main objectives of this research study are: To historicise the state formation process in southeast Africa.

- 1.5.1. To historicise the state formation process in southeast Africa
- 1.5.2. To highlight how Shaka managed to build a united powerful state
- 1.5.3. To identify how the wars of Emperor Shaka were instrumental for state formation.
- 1.5.4. To consider the formation of the state as a consequence of the territorial expansion
- 1.5.5. To determine how Shaka's subjects, neighbours, friends and enemies alike, were affected by the new state
- 1.5.6. To describe the nature in which the state was governed.

1.6. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Research questions make theoretical assumptions in the framework more explicit and as such this research has the following as its questions:

- 1.6.1. What is a state in the historical context?
- 1.6.2. How was Emperor Shaka instrumental in the consolidation of the Zulu state?
- 1.6.3. Were Emperor Shaka's wars of conquest instrumental for the unification of polities in Southeast Africa?
- 1.6.4. How were the Zulu domains expanded under Emperor Shaka?

1.6.5. How were Shaka's subjects, neighbours, friends and enemies alike, affected by the new state?

1.6.6. How was the state governed?

1.7. INTENDED CONTRIBUTION TO THE BODY OF KNOWLEDGE

The lack of focus in the literature on the nature and extent of the state formation process under Emperor Shaka and its impact in Southeast Africa has limited our current understanding of our current settlement patterns and the history of KwaZulu Natal province. This study filled the gap in the literature by providing a different approach/perspective in understanding Emperor Shaka. The focus on the nature and extent of the state formation process and its impacts was motivated by the fact that many studies have focused on describing Emperor Shaka and his character.

The period of state formation in Southeast Africa is a period of great importance as it produced drastic changes in the settlement pattern of Southeast Africa. This period brought about the interpolations in the tradition of the Shakan 19th century. Today KwaZulu Natal province is the product of many traditions. Emperor Shaka achieved an independent state which could provide for the needs, wants and aspirations of his people. He provided the greatest level of development and good administration available to the people of this region at that time. He set the foundation on which the future development of the people could take place. To fulfil this vision, Emperor Shaka understood the need for a foundation of national unity, constructing a closely woven society through the interdependence of the purpose of each thread.

The Zulu state achieved its unity through the contribution of every member to the good administration of the state. Internal unity and stability was the basis for progress then as it should be now, and there were limits to what the government could do then, as there are now. In the time of Emperor Shaka, people were encouraged to produce, so that the state could prosper. Emperor Shaka could raise his powerful spear to impose law and order, but could not use it to butter the bread feeding his people. Even at this time, it is the responsibility of the people to produce and butter their bread. People must learn that lesson to spread a greater sense of self-help and self-reliance within the state.

Forefathers of the African continent preached for unity in Africa for years before the 19th century. In the 21st century, some African leaders still preach the unity of Africa. It is the wish of Africans to become one nation, but there are many obstacles to deal with along the way to

become and realize that one nation, the United States of Africa. Obstacles that cause disunity need Africans themselves to remove them along the way to unity. Today's leaders need greater social solidarity as advocated by Emperor Shaka to encourage people to help one another and to work together to build a better future without greed, internal strife, and competition. Emperor Shaka knew that co-operative efforts add value to the mere sum of their parts. We live in an age in which there is a great deal about the notion of building a united nation out of all the diverse peoples of Africa, this study motivates that one needs to fight with the same spirit of victory of Emperor Shaka's mighty army. Today's struggle, however, is no longer against invading outside clans, but against internal social injustices and social evils that threaten to break down communities and dissolve the strength and unity of the nation.

This study, therefore, set out to analyse the nature and extent of the state formation process under Emperor Shaka and its impact in Southeast Africa. The study of this nature will add appropriate and anticipated value to academic discussions on the type of leadership our nations requires especially as we continue to strive for unity after years of colonialism.

1.8. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The onus of this study is to delve into and analyse the nature and extent of the state formation process under Emperor Zulu and its impact in Southeast Africa. Due to the complexity of the subject matter that has been explored the use of a single conceptual framework was not suited. The study relied on Power Transition and Role theories. The two theories were appropriate for this study. Power transition theory becomes perfect for this study because it emphasizes shifts in relative power among the dominant states as a primary catalyst for conflict. It becomes a theory for the study because the study deals with the transition of power from egalitarian societies to hierarchical state. The theory also posits that the power transition is always plagued with episodes of violence.

Organski's power transition theory rests on two fundamental observations which are very important for this study. The first is that a country's power stems from internal development. This is in line with the development of the state in Southeast Africa. All the power in Southeast Africa originated from within. The second fundamental for power transition theory is that the international system is decisively shaped by the dominant state, the hegemon. This was seen during Emperor Shaka's reign as the *amaZulu* became the dominant state than states that were already established in Southeast Africa before the rise of the *amaZulu*.

Power transition theory is a theory about the causes of major interstate wars. It emphasizes shifts in relative power among the dominant states as a primary promoter for conflict.⁵³ First set out by A.F.K. Organski in a 1958 textbook, power transition theory uses the symbol of a pyramid to describe the hierarchy of states within the international system. At the top of the pyramid is a hegemon or a dominant power, whose supremacy is defined not only by a preponderance of material resources but also by political stability. Hegemonic ascendance is temporary, however, and beneath the hegemon are a roiling clutch of great powers, or states that represent potential rivals to the hegemon and play their part in shaping the international system, ever eager to assume the top spot. Beneath those are the middle powers, which may possess some regional significance, followed by the small powers.

According to the power transition theory, the likelihood of stability and therefore peace is greatest when a hegemon has established a clear and credible dominance over the system. Hegemonic powers maintain global order; more precisely, they use their military and economic strength to set up global or regional regimes that increase their security while promoting systemic stability. These regimes, which typically include a bundle of international political and economic institutions (but also, less formally, norms of global behaviour), are designed to benefit both the dominant power and other states that agree to play by the rules of the hegemonic order. Such rule abiders are defined as status quo states, as opposed to revisionist states that are dissatisfied with their place in the international order and wish to change the rules by which the international system functions.

Power transition theory emphasizes the dynamic and cyclical nature of international relations. Hegemons cannot stay on top for long—inescapable differences in rates of growth, institutional sclerosis brought on by the growth of vested interests at home, and the lure of imperial overstretch abroad all contribute to the eventual decline of the dominant power. According to the power transition theory, the probability of war is greatest when a declining hegemon is being overtaken by a rising great power. Thus, if dominance keeps the peace, a decline in dominance or confusion over the hegemon's status leads to war. In the dangerous period of power transition, the impulse toward war may come from either the hegemon or the challenger. The hegemon may see a benefit in waging a preventive war to thwart the challenger's imminent ascent; the challenger, meanwhile, may be eager to correct the perceived imbalance in the international system and give itself a place in the sun commensurate with its rising status. Either

⁵³ A.F.K. Organski and K. Jacek: *The War Ledger*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980.

way, such hegemonic wars at the point of power transition usually create new hegemonic power and a new order after the transition, leaving the hegemonic cycle to begin anew. Hegemonic wars alter the international system under the new distribution of power, eliminating the ambiguity that arises when a rising power challenges a dominant state.

The role theory was also utilised in this study. The concepts of role theory can be traced back to before 1900, although the use of the term 'role' only became common in the 1930s. The basic idea of the role theory is that individuals have various roles in life and that these roles come with prescriptions on how individuals should behave. The role theory was also appropriate for this study because during the power transition process of state formation certain specific people played a crucial role in the process.

Role theory emphasizes what happens when people are acting out social processes and the consequences of their doing so. According to role theory, each person is an actor representing a typical individual in a real-life scenario performing within a specific context and a set of functions with which are associated norms, expectations, responsibilities, rights, and psychological states. A role is a place in a model and the participant acts out a situation in the same manner that a person in real life would respond in that same situation.

1.9. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

1.9.1. METHOD

The study adopted a qualitative research approach. Denzin and Lincoln define qualitative research as the multi-method in focus, involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter. This means that qualitative researchers are studying phenomena in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret, these phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them.⁵⁴ In this study, a qualitative research approach was most suitable as it allowed the researcher to understand in details the nature and extent of the state formation process under Emperor Shaka and its impact in Southeast Africa. Strauss and Corbin note that the reason for choosing qualitative methods is the nature of the research problem and the preference of the researcher.⁵⁵ The qualitative research approach was chosen in this study because the research is not interested in the statistical account of the events but in an in-depth

⁵⁴ N.K. Denzin and Y.S. Lincoln: "Introduction: Entering the field of qualitative research." In NK Denzin and YS Lincoln (Eds.) *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, p. 2.

⁵⁵ A. Strauss and J. Corbin: *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc., 1998.

understanding of the nature and extent of the state formation process under Emperor Shaka and its impact in Southeast Africa.

Research methodology as described by Babbie and Mouton⁵⁶ refers to the various methods, techniques, and procedures that are employed in the process of implementing a research project. Methodology in Social Sciences consists of choosing the most convenient theories, techniques, and explanatory models or paradigms which presents a clear understanding of a question and phenomenon. The objective is to provide an analytical explanation of facts, realities or a situation that has been initially considered as a problem requiring resolution or raising questions that necessitate answers.

1.9.2. DATA COLLECTION METHODS AND ANALYSIS

The study relied mainly on primary and secondary data. The primary sources involved the use of archival sources made up of administrative and military reports. These were located in the Pietermaritzburg archives. As part of data analysis there was the issue of the determination validity, trustworthiness, or authenticity of these sources (external criticism) considered. This study also determined the reliability or accuracy of the information contained in the sources collected (internal criticism). Accounts by witnesses to an event, for example, were typically assumed to be more reliable and accurate. This was done by positive and negative criticism.

For an exploratory study, the process of collecting information involves primarily in-depth interviews. Creswell points out that the importance of interviews is to describe the meaning of the phenomenon for a small number of individuals who have experienced it. Interviews play a central role in the collection of data.⁵⁷

The primary data in this study was collected through semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions. Most of the interviews were conducted in KwaZulu Natal where Emperor Shaka lived. Other interviews took place outside the province depending on the location of the person to be interviewed. In total, 35 individuals were interviewed. These individuals were selected by a researcher using purposive and later he adopted snow-ball sampling. Ritchie argues that for qualitative study samples involving individual interviews usually lie at fewer

⁵⁶ E. Babbie and J. Mouton: *The practice of social research*, p. xxvii.

⁵⁷ J.W. Creswell: *Educational research: Planning, conducting, and evaluating quantitative and qualitative research* (4th ed.). Boston, MA: Pearson, 2012.

than 50.⁵⁸ Alder and Alder recommend a sample between 12 and 60 for a Qualitative approach.⁵⁹

The sample size of 35 interviews conducted was reasonable for the study and the data collected was manageable in terms of the quality and analysis. The researcher also made use of telephone and email interviews where informants could not be reached. The questions were sent by email and the time for completing and sending them back to the researcher was four weeks. The interviews were conducted over six months.

Interviews were selected from the following people:

(1) National and Provincial House of Traditional Leaders

(2) Academics

(3) Political Analysts

These interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed after the event. In case the interview could not be recorded, for lack of permission to do so, the researcher took notes during the interview. Potential interviewees were requested to indicate their consent before being interviewed. Also, they (participants) were given a guarantee of confidentiality and anonymity. This study also made use of secondary materials (Desktop Research). This search of secondary materials uncovered two types of sources. The first type consisted of the literature comprising books, journals and other classical scientific resources dealing with the subject matter. The second type included newspapers, pamphlets, dissertations, government publications, reviews, reports of various Committees, diaries and other relevant manuscripts.

1.9.3. SAMPLING METHODS

The purpose of sampling is to achieve representativeness of the population from which it is taken. Purposive and snowball samplings were utilised in this research. Kumar argues that the primary consideration of purposive sampling is the judgement of the researcher as to who can provide the best information to achieve the objectives of the study. In this sampling method, the researcher only goes to those who in her/his opinion is likely to have the required information and be willing to share it. This type of sampling method is useful in developing

⁵⁸ Cited from, J. Ritchie, *et al*: Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers, p. 118.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

something about which only a little is known.⁶⁰ A snowball sampling is a type of sampling where a researcher starts with one participant and then use that member's contact to identify other contacts who may have the experience, thus increasing the sample.⁶¹ This method is commonly used when the researcher has difficulty finding participants who might otherwise not be identified easily. Snowball sampling often allows the inclusion of several views or experiences.

1.10. ETHICAL AND SAFETY ISSUES

After a thorough reading of the University Policy and Procedures on Research Ethics and its Policy and Procedures on Managing and Preventing Acts of Plagiarism, and I understand their content. As a result, I declare that to the best of my knowledge that my thesis will not fall into a category that requires special ethical obligations. In particular, I conducted the research and my thesis on my own and I have also referenced my work accurately accordingly through footnoting.

Interviews conducted with Zulu traditional leaders, academics, cultural experts, and political analysts, identity and history were used strictly for this research. Also, the respondents' rights and privacy was respected. The research avoided anything that will lead to embarrassing the respondents or tarnishing their image.

1.11. DISSEMINATION OF KNOWLEDGE

As an academic study the outcomes of this research, are expected to be disseminated in a variety of ways. First, the researcher aims to disseminate the knowledge contained in this study in the form of a bound document to any library in KwaZulu Natal. Other means of dissemination will also be in a form of publication of books, chapters in books, articles in journal, seminars and reading papers in local and international conferences and workshops. The findings of this thesis will also be disseminated for world consumption through the internet.

⁶⁰ R. Kumar: Research Methodology- A Step-by-Step Guide for Beginners, pp. 50-59.

⁶¹ C.L. Macnee and S. McCabe: Understanding Nursing Research: Using Research in Evidence-based Practice, p.121.

1.12. THESIS STRUCTURE

Chapter One: This chapter introduces the entire work, it consists of the general introduction, statement of the research problem, objective of the study, and review of existing literature. The chapter attempts to establish the basis of the study by identifying the central issues and questions raised by the research. The chapter similarly attempts to formulate the specific research issues to be investigated and the methodology adopted for the collection and analysis of data.

Chapter Two: The chapter discusses the reorganisation and expansion of the Zulu Army. The chapter posits that nineteenth-century Southeast Africa saw the spread and development of various northern Nguni kingdoms and states. This chapter argues that it was during this time that Emperor Shaka rose to the throne and began effecting changes in the Zulu army. The chapter concludes by positing that his military reorganisation and expansion was a major contribution to the building of the Zulu state and helped Shaka to develop a new political system which eventually gave rise to the Zulu state.

Chapter Three: This chapter argues that the Zulu state which emerged in the early 19th century in Southeast Africa was established out of many different chiefdoms practising different customs, speaking different dialects and claiming varied historical origins. Through an examination of traditions of origin, this chapter traces some of the major interpolations in the traditions of the Shakan period. This chapter argues that it was after he reorganised and expanded his army that Emperor Shaka began to embark on military campaigns. By attacking various chiefdoms, this chapter argues that he began to interpolate his traditions and the Qwabe Chiefdom provide a typical example of the interpolation of traditions.

Chapter Four: This chapter deals with the incorporation of the Mthethwa confederacy and its tributary clans by Emperor Shaka into the Zulu state. AbakwaMthethwa formed a very important component of the Zulu state. Under their King Dingiswayo, they were the precursors in the implementation of the idea of a confederation of smaller clans under one supreme ruler who become their overlord. Through this action, King Dingiswayo was one of the great leaders in southern Africa history. It is of importance to consider the Mthethwa confederacy and their incorporation into Zulu because when King Dingiswayo died, Emperor Shaka began to rally the Mthethwa and rapidly incorporated them into his growing Zulu state.

Chapter Five: This chapter discusses the incorporation and assimilation of the coastal and mid-Thukela chiefdoms by Emperor Shaka Zulu. These chiefdoms include the Thuli, Nyuswa and the Cele chiefdoms. The Thuli and Cele paramountcies were much larger than any of the historically known chiefdoms which previously existed on the coastlands. These chiefdoms extended their political influence beyond Mzimkhulu into Natal Midlands to the west. They had established centralised institutions of government which gave them authority to exercise their power over their adherents, but both polities remained loose combination chiefdoms rather than growing states.

Chapter Six: This chapter deals with the key established cultural traditions of the Zulu state. After incorporating various confederacies and clans into the Zulu state, there were established cultural traditions for the empire. This chapter discusses the Zulu way of life. This includes how the communities were ordered, customs, the leadership structures in the communities, the kind of food they eat, their arts and craft. These issues are discussed in a way that shows how these traditions were used to promote Zulu cultural traditions.

CHAPTER TWO

THE REORGANIZATION AND EXPANSION OF THE ZULU ARMY

2.1. INTRODUCTION

Nineteenth-century Southeast Africa saw the spread and development of various northern Nguni kingdoms and states. The advancement of these kingdoms and states has turned into the subject of discussion for a large time. It has given the idea that integral to the achievement of those kingdoms and states were the regimental unit framework that started to rise. This chapter discusses the rearrangement and development of the Zulu Army by Shaka Zulu. His military reorganisation and expansion was a major contribution to the building of the Zulu state. This was because when he embarked on campaigns against certain groups,⁶² he incorporated that group after he defeated it. When that inkosi and his clan or chiefdom was conquered it became the additional segment of Shaka's growing state.

This chapter posits that before it turns into a military state during Shaka Zulu's reign, the Zulu clan was a small group comprising of a couple of hundred individuals, known uniquely to their immediate neighbours.⁶³ The importance of the reorganization and the expansion of the Zulu Army is that it helped Shaka develop a new political system which ultimately gave rise to the Zulu state. This chapter advances that it was after the reorganization of the Zulu Army that Shaka began to attack neighbouring clans or Kingdoms and those at a distance. The chapter additionally keeps up that key to the socio-political changes which occurred in the southeast African communities in the late eighteenth and mid-nineteenth hundreds of years was the foundation of new types of 'regimental' association and new techniques for pursuing fighting.

It was during Shaka's reign that the Zulu army emerged in a form that endured with some modification. Without some application of military force, of course, it is unlikely that Shaka's career would ever have proceeded as it did. An army was necessary to secure control of many of the chiefdoms that made up the state. The results of his innovations were far-reaching. It, therefore, becomes necessary for this study to evaluate and analyze the reorganization of the Zulu army and the effect it had thereof on the settlement of the people in southeast Africa. From the time of Shaka, small groups living in Natal, south of the Thukela River and north of

⁶² J.E. Flint (ed.): *The Cambridge History of Africa*, vol. 5, p. 328.

⁶³ I.J. Knight: *Warrior Chiefs of Southern Africa: Shaka of the Zulu, Moshoeshe of the Basotho, Mzilikazi of the Matabele, Maqoma of the Xhosa* (New York: Sterling Publishing, 1995), p. 14.

Pondoland, were subject to frequent raids by Zulu regiments and by various groups fleeing from the Zulu inkosi.

2.2. PRE-SHAKAN ZULULAND AND NATAL

Before Shaka, the general population of Southeast Africa was composed of various little communities. A portion of these political units was as little as an average clan, as far as population and territory, a number of them were not fit for defending themselves against their strong and greater neighbours.⁶⁴ In what is today KwaZulu Natal province there were many amakhosi, each ruling on his own. Each lived separately from the others, including Inkosi Senzangakhona. The Mbatha, Buthelezi, Ntombela, Mthethwa, Ndwandwe, Qwabe, Mhlongo, Mpungose and eMbo, together with the people of many territories all lived separately. Some of these *amakhosi* like Inkosi Senzangakhona of the *amaZulu* and Nkomo *kaShandu kaNdaba kaMbungela* of the Mbatha paid homage to the Mthethwa. Altogether there were about 100 small clans scattered over the land under separate *amakhosi*.⁶⁵ These political and social units were despite their military weakness, were independent. Each was ruled by inkosi, who was in turn assisted and advised by junior inkosi, councillors and important officials called *izinduna*.

They lived in various, small, independent settlements because the population was still small and there was, in this way, a lot of vacant land for the new settlement. In the meantime, because of internal friction and instability, the disappointed individuals from the community regularly chose either to split away and build up their very own autonomous social orders or move to different regions where they would be allowed to live as they wished. Since the clans were commonly small they were administered simply and even though conflicts were normal, enormous scale fighting was uncommon and the impacts of fighting were commonly less extreme. There was in this way no need for an enormous scale of political and military organisation.⁶⁶ This had an impact of encouraging the continued existence of numerous small clans with simple systems of government and small-scale military organization.

Preceding 1800, Nguni families had been moving into Southeast Africa, presently Zululand and Natal, from the northwest.⁶⁷ The contention between the children of the clan leader every

⁶⁴ E. E. Evans-Pritchard: *Peoples of the Earth*, Volume 9, p. 143.

⁶⁵ M.Z. Shamase: *Zulu Potentates from the earliest to Zwelithini kaBhekuzulu*, p. (v).

⁶⁶ S. Bourquin: 'The Zulu Military Organization and the Challenge of 1879', *South African Military History Journal*, Vol 4, No. 4.

⁶⁷ K.F. Otterbein: *How War Began*, p. 213.

always prompted the splitting of the royal patrilineage. Such part kept the clans small and dispersed. The economy, which depended on moving development and cattle raising, likewise added to this scattering by expecting clans to always look for better grazing land.⁶⁸ Before the end of the eighteenth century, the population was rapidly expanding and as this occurred, new land ended up important for further expansion.⁶⁹ As pressure on the land gradually expanded, it, therefore, became a necessity that more land must be gained by the power of arms and in due course, only the bravest and strongest could procure land at the expense of their weaker neighbours or enemies.

The fact that before 1800 communities had been relocating in Southeast Africa is confirmed by Kunene who contends that the political advancement of the southernmost tip of Africa from the twelfth to the eighteenth hundreds of years was portrayed by elaborate population movements.⁷⁰ What is of importance is that as this occurred different clans and their regiments endeavoured to establish family kingdoms and settlements. As a result of different pressures in a number of the neighbouring regions and the constricted region of the southern end of the African continent, the family clans started to contend with one another for land. At first, the challenge was close to a reaction to potential dangers or limitations, however, by the end of the eighteenth century, the conflicts between clans had turned out to be increasingly intense, bringing about an adjustment in the strategies and intentions of warfare. The late pre-Shakan period was marked by those conflicts.

It is noticeable that at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the population increment in Southeast Africa brought about noteworthy political and military changes. The rapid population increment and regimental increment prompted regular conflicts over land required for further expansion.⁷¹ During this period warfare became common and increasing. Social instability and general insecurity required better and bigger social and political organisation. It likewise ended up important to improve and reinforce the military organisation and techniques for battling to adapt to the prevailing conditions. When Shaka turned into a significant figure ever of Southern Africa, there were at that point positive improvements towards the making of bigger and all the more dominant political units. Among them were the Mthethwa led by King

⁶⁸ M. Gluckman: *Analysis of a Social Situation in Modern Zululand*. The Rhodes-Livingstone Papers 28, p. 2.

⁶⁹ M. Kunene: *Emperor Shaka the Great*, pp. xiii-xiv.

⁷⁰ *Ibid*, p. xiii.

⁷¹ E.A. Eldredge: 'Sources of Conflict in Southern Africa, c. 1800-30: the 'Mfecane' reconsidered', *Journal of African History*, 33, p. 1.

Dingiswayo, the Ndwandwe under King Zwide and the Ngwane under King Sobhuza. All the three rose to noticeable quality by military methods, by fortifying their armed forces and conquering their neighbours.⁷² It was by military means that Shaka was later to reorganize the Zulu clan into a united and powerful state. What's more, it was by military implies that Shaka was later to redesign the Zulu clan into a unified and incredible state.

Historical evidence has pointed out that the eighteenth-century Nguni settlement and organisation accommodated the gathering of young men into age-sets regiments.⁷³ Each age gathering, comprised of around fifty young men. These young men were placed in the charge of an older boy who would remain their leader throughout their military career.⁷⁴ Because of military exigencies and at the example of the Mthethwa King Dingiswayo, the act of circumcision was starting to fall into neglect in certain clans and kingdoms. The armed power of a clan or kingdom comprised of all healthy men and represented a combination of all established age groups. Before the rise of Shaka Zulu, there was no formal organisation or training, experience in handling their weapons being gained through games of skill, the hunt, and actual fighting.⁷⁵ They are outdoor, their whole childhood having been spent on the veld tending steers, transformed them into the powerful and enthusiastic family that they were.

Before the rise of Shaka, the main thought which people had of fighting was a random sort of skirmishing, wherein each man battled autonomously, and did not figure on accepting any help from his friends, every one of whom was occupied with battling without anyone else account. Indeed, the war was minimal more than a progression of gladiatorial duels, and, if a warrior prevailing with regards to murdering the specific foe to whom he was contradicted, he promptly looked for another.⁷⁶ However, the possibility of enormous groups of men acting in concert, and being directed by one mind had not occurred to them.

Theophilus Shepstone states that before 1812 'a squabble was settled by a periodical battle. In those days armed forces never rested in the open, i.e., far from their homes. The day was fixed in advance, the men of the adversary clans met fighting on that day, and the consequence of

⁷² E.H. Ward: 'The Defaqane - Socio-Military Revolution and Demographic Determinant,' South African Journal of Military Studies, Vol 13, No. 3, p. 37.

⁷³ S. Bourquin: 'The Zulu Military Organization and the Challenge of 1879', South African Military History Journal, Vol 4, No. 4.

⁷⁴ C.L. Norris-Newman: In Zululand with the British, Throughout the War of 1879, p. 9.

⁷⁵ S. Mbatha: Umlando Nobuqhawe BukaZulu, p. 60.

⁷⁶ S. Bourquin: 'The Zulu Military Organization and the Challenge of 1879', South African Military History Journal, Vol 4, No. 4.

the single experience chose the squabble. They didn't battle to shed blood, or consume houses, or catch cows, or obliterate one another, however, to settle a squabble.⁷⁷

The late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century thought of war in Zululand changed completely. This process saw certain clans conquering their neighbours and small kingdoms began to rise. Quite a few powerful families and chiefdoms began to rise, and a change from a pastoral and simple society to a more organised and political group happened. Given this change, leaders were able to have more authority over their supporters and to gain allies from conquered groups. It was during this transition in Southeast Africa that Shaka rose to the scene. This transition played a crucial role in expanding the Zulu domains. He was triumphant; by his character and military strategy. He rendered himself an, in twelve years, unquestionable emperor in Southeast Africa, and his troops were crusading a long way past his boundaries. He organised an empire out of various clans and powerful kingdoms he had incorporated.⁷⁸

From the earliest starting point of his rule, his essential interest was in the army and subsequently, he made whole time warriors of his men. He built up regiments framed of people of a similar age, and quartered them, for a large portion of the year, in enormous military barracks called *amakhanda*. The men regiments trained there for war herded the king's cattle and worked his fields. The men were forbidden to marry till the king permitted them, as a regiment, to marry into a particular age-regiment of young ladies.⁷⁹ The *ikhanda* besides being in a military kraal was a repository for the cattle, most of which were taken in war. These cattle were the property of the state and drawn on for state purposes, but the king would not take any from a kraal without consulting the induna in charge.

Every regiment belonged to the king alone. The regiments were then housed at military quarters (*amakhanda*) which were deliberately positioned around the kingdom to administer the emperor's rule.⁸⁰ Positioned at strategic points about the kingdom were also some two dozen huge *amakhanda*, or royal military and administrative centres, of an average of 500 huts each, where *amabutho*, or regiments of warriors (about 29,000 men when fully mobilized), were periodically stationed to serve their king in peace and war. This organisation presumably proceeded from the period before Shaka started to form age regiments. On those occasions, the

⁷⁷ S. Bourquin: 'The Zulu Military Organization and the Challenge of 1879', South African Military History Journal, Vol 4, No. 4.

⁷⁸ M.G. Buthelezi: King Shaka Day, Nsingweni Training Centre, Ongoye. 04 November 1984, p. 2.

⁷⁹ M. Fortes, E. E. Evans-Pritchard: African Political System, p. 26.

⁸⁰ http://www.clockworksky.net/cliveless_world/zulu_ibutho.html

head of a clan appears to have collected his military in divisions which he constituted by attaching the men of specific territories to ensure of his significant homesteads. The clans and kingdoms inside the Zulu empire were sorted out for battling and chasing on this premise. It was the head alone who could gather the age regiments. The country additionally was separated for military purposes similarly as a clan was divided. It was natural that the king could join certain gatherings of clans to certain of his royal homesteads.

The king travelled frequently between the various amakhanda, almost all contact with him took place in them (military amakhanda). It was during the trips of the military amakhanda that most Zulu men became acquainted with the wider world of the Zulu state. They were scattered throughout the kingdom and were a deliberately visible expression of the royal presence of power. All the military barracks were well established and organised. Each of these barracks was a royal household containing within itself a royal section with its quarters for the Emperor and the royal women. In the barracks, there were also huts of the soldiers that were built.

The arrangement of regiments was founded on age set upon the Nguni development of young men and women into *amabutho*. These young men and women had specific civic and military tasks to perform. For an extensive time, the regiments were not a standing army force but rather a force that got out when the ruler required them.⁸¹ They also made up the empire's principal labour pool, helping to maintain the king's kraals and police citizens.⁸² Before Shaka Zulu's rise to the Zulu throne, the military was already in use but it was never reformed and it was not used to centralize power. During the times of King Dingiswayo of the Mthethwa, young men were grouped in army regiments according to age. Numerous researchers have contended that the age-regiment framework was presented by King Dingiswayo, who is said to have to taboo the exhibition of the conventional ceremonies until his victories ought to be finished.⁸³ Fage and Oliver⁸⁴ argue that this may have been the consequence of a solitary imaginative personality. They contend that the presence of this example among various individuals makes it increasingly likely that it emerged normally out of the worry of the conditions.

⁸¹ Manfred F. R. Kets de Vries: *Lessons on Leadership by Terror: Finding Shaka Zulu in the Attic*, p. 26.

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ H. Fynn: 'History of Gondongwana (Dingiswayo) and (in part) of Shaka' in J. Bird, *The Annals of Natal* (Pietermaritzburg, 1888), I, pp. 60-71.

⁸⁴ J. D. Fage et al: *The Cambridge History of Africa*, Volume 5, p. 325.

In his account of Shaka, Ralph Mzamo⁸⁵ sustains that King Dingiswayo was the person who introduced innovations that were later to assume the proportions of a wide-ranging military revolution in Zululand and Southern Africa as a whole. According to Mzamo, King Dingiswayo introduced a loose kind of standing army by reorganizing it into age mates though it was assembled only when necessity arose.⁸⁶ The system of age set regiments certainly had many advantages over the old one. First, it encouraged clan coherence and unity since the regiments fought together and shared common experiences as members of the state. Second, it resulted in military efficiency. Third, it strengthened clan loyalty to the centre, i.e. the ruler. He also maintains that King Dingiswayo's era did not make for wide-ranging changes in military structure and warfare.⁸⁷ Moreover, he was motivated by no ambition to widen his territory or build a nation. Mzamo argues that King Dingiswayo went on military campaigns only when he thought the state needed livestock or when he felt threatened. Mzamo argues that Shaka was different. He was a thorough perfectionist of the first order. In whatever he undertook he wanted to achieve excellence.⁸⁸ He had served King Dingiswayo loyally, carried out his directives and surrendered to him whatever treasure he had captured.

Up to the thought of the consolidation of power in Zululand and Natal, warfare in Southeast Africa was a ritual activity guided by a strict moral code that limited the scale of physical destruction against the enemy. The role of the environment, particularly the elements comprising demographics, terrain, weather, and disease, influenced traditional African warfare. This is argued by John Lamphear who argues that traditional Southeast African warfare demonstrated four key factors that appeared in varying degrees of consistency across the region: Control of people and resources instead of territory; utilization of numerically small forces; conducting raids instead of engaging in protracted conflicts; and rudimentary logistics.⁸⁹ Of these four key factors, it appeared that the control of people and resources was more important than the control of territory in determining the nature of African conflict.⁹⁰

⁸⁵ R. Mzamo: 'UShaka: A Military Giant', Sechaba, Volume 21, p. 6.

⁸⁶ J. Stuart and A.T. Cope: Izibongo: Zulu praise-poems, p. 4; R. Mzamo: 'UShaka: A Military Giant', Sechaba, Volume 21, p. 6.

⁸⁷ R. Mzamo: 'UShaka: A Military Giant', Sechaba, Volume 21, p. 6.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ J. Lamphear: African Military History, p. 45.

⁹⁰ J. Black: War in the Modern World Since 1815, p. 172.

Kunene also argues that the pre-Shakan period was characterized by a type of reluctant warfare.⁹¹ How war itself was fought, developed in many interim stages of ritual confrontation before the actual physical fight started.⁹² Kunene argues that a battle would involve only a single, chosen representative from each side. Conflicts were often solved by the initiation of national poetry contests and dances.⁹³ These included the exchange of ambassadors of goodwill whose task was to persuade the enemy camp against the folly of declaring war; ritual dance in which the best dancers of the opposing camps competed (the party that won the dance competition, won the war); selection of the best fighter from both sides (the winner won the war for his side); and use of the long throwing spear (the final stage of the confrontation).⁹⁴ If the throwing of spears during the final stage ran out before the enemy admitted defeat, the enemy would declare himself the victor. It was considered immoral if the winner attempted to pursue the defeated army.

It is important to highlight that previously local *amakhosi* had commanded their military units. However, the regiments were commanded by men who were all appointed by one central ruler. Although King Dingiswayo used the system to extend his dominion, he was not sufficiently ruthless to destroy his enemies. Militarily warfare was mild among the *abaBantu* before the rise of Shaka, though it occurred frequently. Objectives were typically limited to such matters as cattle raiding, avenging some personal insult, or resolving disputes over segments of grazing land. King Dingiswayo defeated his neighbours and made them subordinate to his rule, but allowed them to retain their *amakhosi*, thus weakening loyalty to the centre (Shaka wanted loyalty to him alone). He was lenient to his enemies to the extent of giving them back their captured cows, only retaining the oxen which he gave to his warriors.⁹⁵

As pointed out, during this period there was no permanent army in Zululand, although there were many trained warriors attached to the different age-regiments.⁹⁶ Warriors were summoned

⁹¹ M. Kunene: Emperor Shaka the Great, pp. xv-xvi.

⁹² "Great African Military Leaders: Shaka of the Zulu Nation," 29 November 2010, <http://kwanzaaguide.com/2010/11/great-african-military-leaders-shaka-of-the-zulu-ation/> (accessed 01 June 2019).

⁹³ M. Kunene: Emperor Shaka the Great, pp. xv-xvi.

⁹⁴ "Great African Military Leaders: Shaka of the Zulu Nation," 29 November 2010, <http://kwanzaaguide.com/2010/11/great-african-military-leaders-shaka-of-the-zulu-ation/> (accessed 01 June 2019).

⁹⁵ R. Mzamo: 'UShaka: A Military Giant', Sechaba, Volume 21, p. 6.

⁹⁶ S. Bourquin: 'The Zulu Military Organization and the Challenge of 1879', South African Military History Journal, Vol 4, No. 4

only when the need arose, otherwise staying in their homes attending to their ordinary day to day work. There were no professional soldiers who lived by fighting alone. Despite the improvements made by King Dingiswayo, the warriors still used the same weapons as before, the large shield and the long-handled spear. The shield was cumbersome and inconvenient due to its immense size. The long-handled spear had one major weakness as a fighting weapon: because it was thrown at the enemy, the warriors were left defenceless and helpless but for the large shields.⁹⁷ And though each warrior carried several spears, these could be collected by the enemy and returned, thus turning the Zulu warriors' weapons against themselves. Efficiency and discipline could not, therefore, be fully maintained on the battlefield, for this to be accomplished a thorough military reorganization was necessary. This was the task and achievement of Shaka.

2.3. PRE-SHAKAN WEAPONRY AND WARFARE

The early weaponry comprised of a heap of assegais with long thin shafts which were utilized, similar to javelins, for throwing. Also, a stick or handle kerrie was carried. An oval ox-hide shield was unused for defensive purposes and there was no uniformity as regards size or colours of shields. The early spears had a small, leaf-shaped blade with a jong shank or tang.⁹⁸ Having forged the blade, he selected appropriate wood for the shaft and drilled out the end with an awl. Strong vegetable glues were used to fix the blade in place, and this was bound with a wet fibre. When this was dry, the join was sealed with either a split cane or with a tube of hide cut from a calf's tail. The Zulu word for a spear is *umkhonto*, although there are several different spears, each with its particular function. The *isiphapha*, for example, was a broad-bladed spear and was used for hunting game; the *isijula* was used in warfare. For his everyday protection in a wild country, a man would carry a spear and *iwisa*, a knobkerrie made of hardwood with a large polished head. He would also carry a small oval shield made of cowhide, reinforced with a stick held in place by a double row of hiding lacing. The top of the stick was usually decorated with a strip of civet or genet fur, wound round.⁹⁹

A man would remain at his father's homestead until he gets married when he would establish an *umuzi* of his own. The change in status was considerable and indicated through the head-ring, or *isicoco*, donned by men immediately before their first marriage. The *isicoco* was a fibre

⁹⁷ R. Mzamo: 'UShaka: A Military Giant', Sechaba, Volume 21, p. 9.

⁹⁸ I. Knight: The Zulus, p. 6.

⁹⁹ I. Knight: The Zulus, pp. 6-7.

sewn into the hair, plastered with gum and polished with beeswax. In the 19th century, it was fashionable to shave the crown and back of the head, leaving just the hair around the ring. Occasionally the ring was raised on a pad of hair. Young unmarried men would sometimes tease out their hair and build it up into bizarre shapes with clay and tallow.¹⁰⁰

The ordinary costume was minimal. A man was required to wear an *umncedo*, a sheath of plaited grass and leaves; with this, he would be considered adequately dressed in all company. However, it was usual to wear a loin covering over this: a thin strip of hiding around the hips, with an oblong of soft dressed cowskin low on the buttocks (*ibheshu*), and strips of fur (*umutsha*) at the front. Fur from the civet, genet, and *samango* (green) monkey were the most popular types, but sheepskin and antelope were sometimes used. Often two or more skins would be twisted together to resemble tails. Samango monkey tails were sometimes worn on either side of the *ibheshu*. Only *amakhosi* were allowed to wear a cloak of leopard skin, with leopard claws as a necklace. Inkosi often carried sticks with carved wooden heads as staffs of office.¹⁰¹

When conflict emerged between clans, a day and a place were arranged for settling the dispute by combat. On that day the rival clans marched to battle, the warriors drawing up in lines at a distance of about 100 yards apart.¹⁰² Behind the lines stood the remaining members of each clan, who during the battle cheered their kinsmen on to greater efforts. The warriors carried five-foot-tall, oval shields and two or three light javelins. These rawhide shields, when hardened by dipping in water, could not be penetrated by the missiles. Chosen warriors, who would advance to within 50 yards of each other and shout insults, opened the combat by hurling their spears.¹⁰³ Eventually, more and more warriors would be drawn into the battle until one side ceased fighting and fled, “whereupon a rush would follow for male and female prisoners and enemy cattle, the former to be subsequently ransomed [for cattle], the latter to be permanently retained.”¹⁰⁴ If the pursued dropped their spears, it was a sign of surrender and no more blood would be shed. Since wounds were seldom fatal, the number of casualties was low.

The defeated clan might pay in lands or cattle and have captives to be ransomed, but extermination and mass casualties were rare. Tactics were rudimentary. Outside the ritual

¹⁰⁰ I. Knight: *The Zulus*, p. 6.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid*, pp. 6-7.

¹⁰² K.F. Otterbein (ed.): *Feuding and Warfare: Selected Works of Keith F. Otterbein*, p. 26.

¹⁰³ T.A. Green: *Martial Arts of the World: A-Q*, p. 102.

¹⁰⁴ E.A. Ritter: *Shaka Zulu: The Rise of the Zulu Empire*, p. 10.

battles, the quick raid was the most frequent combat action, marked by burning kraals, seizure of captives, and the driving off of cattle. Pastoral herders and light agriculturalists, the Bantu did not usually build permanent fortifications to fend off enemies. A clan under threat simply packed their meagre material possessions, rounded up their cattle and fled until the raiders were gone. If the raiders did not stay to permanently dispossess them of grazing areas, the fleeing clan might return to rebuild in a day or two. The beginning of the Zulu *impi* consequently lies in clan structures existing well before the coming of Europeans or the Shakan period.¹⁰⁵

2.4. SHAKA'S RISE TO THE ZULU THRONE

As a young man, he served in the regiments of King Dingiswayo and gained military experience. Shaka had been trained as a warrior under the Mthethwa confederacy, under *induna* Ngomane Mdletshe's leadership as commander-in-chief of the Mthethwa army. It is important to posit that he showed tremendous courage and skill, and was revered among his peers. But his physical skill was matched by an exceptional capacity to strategise.¹⁰⁶ As he showed bravery and military capabilities, Shaka became King Dingiswayo's favourite.¹⁰⁷ It was because of his courage, bravery and skills that Shaka had become King Dingiswayo's hero.

Towards the end of 1815 Inkosi Senzangakhona's health rapidly declined and early in 1816, he died. When Inkosi Senzangakhona died in 1816, King Dingiswayo helped him to become the inkosi of the Zulu clan. Shaka at the time was twenty-nine years old.¹⁰⁸ King Dingiswayo summoned Shaka and told him to go and take over the chieftaincy of the Zulu clan. He put to his disposal the 2nd Izichwe regiment which was known as Ngomane's own. This regiment was recently formed under Shaka's energetic recruiting policy for the expansion of King Dingiswayo's armed forces. King Dingiswayo also provided Shaka with an imposing staff, headed by Ngomane kaMqomboli Mdletshe and King Dingiswayo's nephew, Siwangu kaMbekwana.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ D. Morris: The Washing of the Spears, pp. 32-67

¹⁰⁶ Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi: In Celebration of King Shaka kaSenzangakhona, Founder of the Zulu Nation, Introduction of His Majesty the King, Stanger High Sports Grounds, KwaDukuza, 24 September 2017.

¹⁰⁷ C. de B. Webb and J.B. Wright (eds.): The Zulu Speaks, p. 5.

¹⁰⁸ I. Knight: Warrior Chiefs of Southern Africa, p. 45.

¹⁰⁹ E.A Ritter: From Folklore to History, p. 205.

It must be stated that at first King Dingiswayo refused to do so, stating that the Zulu clan was under his authority and that Sigujana *ka*Senzangakhona, as heir apparent, had a prior right.¹¹⁰ After some contemplation, it, however, appeared to King Dingiswayo that nothing was to prevent Shaka from assuming that position. He advised and encouraged him to put Sigujana to death first and, if necessary, to take the Zulu chieftainship by force. Shaka accordingly employed his half-brother Ngwadi to dispatch his rival (Sigujana).¹¹¹ In this Ngwadi was successful in killing Sigujana and his brother who happened to be with him at that time they were bathing in the river.¹¹² It was at this stage that King Dingiswayo assisted Shaka with a military force. Shaka entered his father's kraal *eSiklebheni* in his full gala dress, stern face with his immense size and perfectly proportioned. When Ngomane moved to address the headmen of the Zulu clan who had been assembled on the occasion. In addressing the Zulu Ngomane said:

‘Children of Zulu! Today I present to you Shaka, son of Inkosi Senzangakhona *ka*Jama, descended from Zulu, as your lawful inkosi. So says the “Great One” (King Dingiswayo) whose mouth I am. Is there anyone here who can contest the righteousness of this decision? If so, let him stand forth and speak no, or hereafter be silent....’ ‘No one speaks,’ said Ngomane, then salute your inkosi.’¹¹³

At this time, the Zulu clan could not offer any resistance to what was said by Ngomane because Inkosi Senzangakhona's favourite, Bhakuza was killed during the Mthethwa-Buthelezi battle and Sigujana had been floated lifelessly in the nearby stream. During this time, Shaka sent his brother, Ngwadi *ka*Gendeyana to go and report at *eSiklebheni* his arrival. It was through the support from the *iZichwe* that Shaka assumed the paramountcy of the Zulu clan. It was of a surprise to Shaka that he had no army in the Zulu clan. Shaka called up the whole manhood of the Zulu who were capable of bearing arms to his palace.¹¹⁴ He was tireless in getting his little army into shape.

¹¹⁰ J. Stuart and D. McK Malcolm (eds.): The Diary of Henry Francis Fynn, p. 14.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² D.D. Phiri: From Nguni to Ngoni: A History of the Ngoni Exodus from ululand and Swaziland to Malawi, Tanzania, and Zambia, p. 27.

¹¹³ E.A Ritter: From Folklore to History, p. 205.

¹¹⁴ E.A Ritter: From Folklore to History, p. 205.

Although he remained within King Dingiswayo's chiefdom, he began to make energetic changes in his clan. It cannot be denied that the participation in the Mthethwa confederacy policy of planned aggression gave Shaka an ample opportunity to study both Bantu politics and the arts of war. Some sources have argued that during this time, Shaka got a chance to avenge old enemies from his father's house and eLangeni. These sources posit that Shaka used the *iZichwe* regiment to squash opposition and to settle political scores. He built his first kraal and called it *uMbelebele*. At this time his concern was the creation of the army for the security of his clan.

In the first years of his reign, Shaka had to contend with the continued opposition of powerful relatives and attendant tensions within the chiefdom. Consequently, he was forced, at least initially, to rely on external support for his rule, both from the Mthethwa, and other non-Zulu elements. Even before the incorporation of neighbouring clans and chiefdoms, Shaka made efforts to secure access to their military forces. The Nkenetshane, a Zungu regiment, for example, was used by Shaka for some time before the incorporation of the Zungu into the Zulu kingdom and their integration into the Zulu *amabutho*.¹¹⁵

Over time, the army inherited from Inkosi Senzangakhona was extended to include many non-Zulu who had tendered allegiance directly to Shaka, and, as Shaka reorganized and implemented reforms in the military system, the men of the original nucleus were subjected to a process of resocialization into the new Shakan social order, such that the *amabutho* were eventually to become the very basis of the king's power. Having demonstrated himself to be a standout amongst King Dingiswayo's most capable warriors after the military call up of his age evaluation to serve in the Mthethwa powers. He fought with his *iziChwe* regiment wherever he was assigned during this early period, yet from the earliest starting point, Shaka's way to deal with the fight did not fit the traditional form.¹¹⁶ The weaponry and methods of fighting an enemy merely to exercise a momentary power over him did not satisfy him.

Shaka was interested in the methods and weaponry that would give his warriors a huge advantage over opponents when they came up close for hand-to-hand combat. Shaka asserted that the policies of persuasion and forgiveness did not produce lasting peace in Nguni land but rather provided an enemy to regroup and build up new alliances. He put forward the idea that

¹¹⁵ C. Hamilton: Ideology, oral traditions and the struggle for power in the early Zulu kingdom, pp. 335-336.

¹¹⁶ D. Morris: The Washing of the Spears, pp. 32-67.

the enemy must not only be defeated but also incorporated into common nationhood. In this sense, he would cease to be a source of constant danger.¹¹⁷ This has been confirmed by Buthelezi who argued that the wars Shaka fought resulted in the expansion of his kingdom by the process of inclusion. He did not conquer to subordinate; he conquered to expand, and conquest was but one of his techniques of expansion.

More joined him than were conquered; they joined him to merge into the vitally growing Zulu Kingdom there were benefits for the people who did so.¹¹⁸ It is of no surprise that even people who were conquered would immediately fight behind Shaka to defend the state which had become their means of life and the vehicle through which their aspirations could be fulfilled. Shaka knew that the strength of the people would determine the strength of the state and worked relentlessly to create organisation and discipline within the ever-growing society. He also understood that every people have a cultural inheritance of character or talent to recommend them, and determined to welcome the new perspectives and lessons which each different people brought.

In many respects, the military reforms initiated by Shaka were revolutionary. It was towards the end of the eighteenth century that some *amakhosi* in the area between uPhongola and Mzikhulu Rivers began to engage themselves in attempts to build enlarged paramountcies. They did this by bringing neighbouring clans and kingdoms under their sway. But before Shaka's time, warfare seems not to have been taken seriously.¹¹⁹ Many scholars have even been tempted to regard it as an exercise or a competition on throwing spears at each other. During this time any party that so wished could decide to run away. The fleeing side was never pursued. To begin this kind of war, the parties concerned usually hurled abusive and insulting expressions at each other.¹²⁰ When Shaka took over the Zulu throne, he felt that the battle had to be decisive.¹²¹ He believed that the battle had to be carried to its reasonable conclusion, the enemy decisively neutralized and this could not be achieved with the present army, weapons, and methods of warfare.¹²² He wanted a war to be a war.

¹¹⁷ M. Kunene: Emperor Shaka Zulu the Great, p. (xviii).

¹¹⁸ M.G. Buthelezi: Remarks and Presentation of His Majesty the King to the Nation, King Shaka Day Celebrations. Stanger: September 26, 1998.

¹¹⁹ A.C.T Mayekiso: The Historical Novels of Jessie Joyce Gwayi, pp. 84-85.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ R. Mzamo: 'UShaka: A Military Giant', Sechaba, Volume 21, p. 9.

¹²² Ibid.

Several historical sources have pointed out that Shaka's serving in King Dingiswayo's army, helped him to have an opportunity of observing the military inadequacy of the traditional methods of fighting.¹²³ First as an inkosi and later as an Emperor, Shaka transformed his army based on his experience fighting for King Dingiswayo. These scholars argue that Shaka's service as a warrior in King Dingiswayo's regiments must have helped him gained a lot of military experience. When he became the king of the Zulu, he began to put into practice the ideas that had developed whilst serving in King Dingiswayo's army. It has appeared that the basis of Shaka's strategy was founded on his dissatisfaction with the old method of fighting wars.

After his return home, Shaka was for the first time in a position to implement his ideas.¹²⁴ The reorganization of the Zulu army took three phases. Firstly, the reorganization of the army. Secondly, the reformation of the weapons that were used and lastly, he changed the fighting tactics that were used before him. The new ways of fighting he introduced were unknown to the neighbouring kingdoms and nations greatly facilitated Shaka's conquests. These military-technical innovations were to be of enormous political importance in Southeast Africa. This is evidenced by Krige¹²⁵ and Callaway¹²⁶ who pointed out that, the efficiency of the military apparatus allowed Shaka to gather a large number of chiefdoms into one entity and to incorporate the defeated troops into the Zulu military.

2.5. ZULU ARMY REORGANISATION AND EXPANSION

It must be posited that Shaka built a society in which every member was valued and everyone made their contribution. Each person, man, woman or child, had a role to play in the wellbeing of the whole. Everyone knew where they fitted in, and they understood their identity within the identity of their nation.¹²⁷ This is supported by the fact that he did not build his army on Zulu people only but he implemented a new system of a military organization that incorporated regiments from defeated clans and kingdoms. As he incorporated many chiefdoms and their

¹²³ S. Bourquin: 'The Zulu Military Organization and the Challenge of 1879', *South African Military History Journal*, Vol 4, No. 4; K.F. Otterbein (ed.): *Feuding and Warfare: Selected Works of Keith F. Otterbein*, p. 27; J.A. Shoup: *Ethnic Groups of Africa and the Middle East: An Encyclopedia*, p. 207; R. Mzamo: 'UShaka: A Military Giant', *Sechaba*, Volume 21, p. 5.

¹²⁴ M. Kunene: *Emperor Shaka the Great: A Zulu Epic*, p. 77.

¹²⁵ E.J. Krige: *Girls, puberty songs and their relation to fertility, morality and religion among the Zulus: Africa* 38 (2), p. 48.

¹²⁶ H. Callaway: *The religious system of the AmaZulu*, p. 23.

¹²⁷ M.G. Buthelezi: *In Celebration of King Shaka kaSenzangakhona Day. Inkosi Nkanyiso Sportsfield, Nhlwathi, Hlabisa, 25 September, 2016.*

men were taken to become part of the Zulu regiments, Shaka saw the necessity to build more military barracks to accommodate the age regiments.

He began the process of a grouping of the age-set throughout his country. He organised his warriors not on a regional basis, but an age basis. The age-set groupings were common in Southeast Africa culture. These age-sets were responsible for a variety of activities, from guarding the camp to cattle herding, to certain rituals and ceremonies.¹²⁸ It was standard in Zulu culture for young fellows to provide the needed service to their local inkosi until they were married and recognised as official householders. Shaka influenced this system, transferring the customary service period from the regional clan leaders to himself, strengthening his authority. Such groupings based on age did not establish a permanent, paid military, in any case, they provided a steady reason for a stable basis for sustained armed mobilization.

The male *amabutho* or young men were taken away to be enrolled alongside others from all segments of the kingdom.¹²⁹ This created a feeling of regular personality and solidarity among them. Shaka organised the various age-set into regiments and quartered them in special military kraals. All these regiments lived in special military settlements or towns. Each settlement was under a military commander called *induna* who was appointed by Shaka himself. The *izinduna* had some junior officers under him who were in charge of smaller units. The army commanders were usually appointed from the commoner families or clans and because they owed their position to Shaka they were completely dependable.

Each military *ikhanda* contained a royal household, cattle enclosures and dwelling huts for the warriors.¹³⁰ The palace of Shaka was Bulawayo another name for Gibixhegu. Some of the other palaces were in Mbelebele near Mpangisweni in the north of Black Mfolozi; *kwaKhangela*; *kwaDukuza*, *eMkhandlwini*, *eMgumanqa* and *eNtontela*.¹³¹ It must be noted that not all these barracks acted as a military base. Some served as military outposts controlled by members of the king's household. Each one was royal property and had potentially a seat of government. Military barracks were very large establishments. This is evidenced by Henry Fynn estimated

¹²⁸ Zulu cited from S. Lombo: Analysis of Consumption Patterns and Their Effects on Social Cohesion From a Zulu Cosmology Perspective, p. 68.

¹²⁹ <https://www.sahistory.org.za/people/shaka-zulu> (accessed 15 June 2019)

¹³⁰ S. Ferguson: My Heritage Abc - Volume 1, p. 69.

¹³¹ J.S. Maphalala: Kafushane ngolibo lweNgonyama uSenzangakhona. Bayede Newspaper, 20 May 2016.

that Shaka's *kwaBulawayo* royal residence was surrounded by an outer palisade fully two miles in circumference¹³² and his colleague Nathaniel Isaacs believed that the barrack had about 1400 huts.¹³³

In these *amakhanda*, the warriors were armed with shield and spears, drilled, attired and fed at the king's or rather the public, expense. While there they constantly sang the praises of Shaka their lord and master. They were full-time warriors who earned their living solely by fighting. Warfare under Shaka had become a real career. In Shaka's time, people were illiterate (meaning they could not read and write) but Nyembezi¹³⁴ argues that age was determined more by a cultural understanding of what stage a growing or ageing person had attained. The person who had attained that age level would be seen by what he or she adorned. For example, young men (*izinsizwa*) or when a girl got into female adolescence (*ebuntombini*), she would wear a special skin skirt known as *isigege*.¹³⁵

Each age cohort had certain specific rights and responsibilities each young man and woman were expected to perform. For instance, it was only young boys who had the privilege of *ukukleza*- drinking fresh milk directly from the udder of a cow, a practice a young man would request to enjoy from a man who had the skills and privilege. *Udibi* were young boys who served in the king's palace. These boys also had a responsibility to take the first sip of the beer. This was to protect the king in the event the king has been poisoned.¹³⁶

Shaka's age-sets regiments were divided according to the pre-and-post puberty stages, ranks, responsibilities and regiments for boys and girls.¹³⁷ Shaka had started this practice by stopping the circumcision custom. He believed that the ritual took young men for an overly extended time, which he would want to use to send them into regiments so that they become ready for war.¹³⁸ For a long time, circumcision was dictated by the inkosi and was granted when a warrior was permitted to marry. The attribution of the abandonment of this custom to Shaka is a matter

¹³² H.F. Fynn: *The Diary of Henry Francis Fynn*, n.p.

¹³³ N. Isaacs: *Travels and Adventure in Eastern Africa*, 2 vols, London, 1836, n.p.

¹³⁴ C.S.L. Nyembezi: 'Historical background to the izibongo of the Zulu military age', *Journal of African Studies*, 7, p. 2.

¹³⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 2-3.

¹³⁶ S. Lombo: *Analysis of Consumption Patterns and Their Effects on Social Cohesion From a Zulu Cosmology Perspective*, pp. 64-65.

¹³⁷ *Ibid*, p. 68.

¹³⁸ M. Kunene: *Emperor Shaka the Great*, p. 2.

of uncertainty even in the historical record.¹³⁹ The practice was fading into disuse when the Mthethwa paramountcy was beginning the process of the centralised rule in the Phongolo-Mzimkhulu region. Neglecting these circumcision rights that were traditionally an integral component of a youth's initiation into manhood and an *ibutho* meant that the paramount inkosi was able to meet the increasing demands on his military system.¹⁴⁰ By bringing youths into the warrior caste quickly without the time spent during the cultural observance, Shaka was able to fashion *amabutho* immediately from the available youths in subordinated *imizi*.

Through this process, Shaka made a standing or changeless power of regiments, revamping the seniority regiments and making them progressively productive and compelling for huge scale fighting. Shaka revamped the military system and made an expert military administration wherein the regiments served until conclusive deactivation after which the individual would turn into a resident, permitted to marry and lead a typical regular citizen life of furrowing the fields, chasing, developing houses and bringing kids.¹⁴¹ Through the arrangement of sorting out regiments from all over his empire, Shaka built up a realm of the *amaZulu* that permanently united a single political community which today constitutes an autonomous African state.

Each of these regiments had its name, which the *amabutho* were pleased with and possessed. The meat was the principle sustenance as men were encouraged dependability and customs related to butchering and caring for their homes when they had experienced all military regiment and prepared to begin their very own families. Shaka allocated every military settlement a herd of royal cattle,¹⁴² from which the young men were provided with meat. The *isikhumba* of the cows was utilized to make the shields of the warriors and an endeavour was made to choose dairy cattle with unmistakable skin shading for each *amabutho*.

From the beginning, youthful and young men were set in regiments until they are genuine men. Being a part of a regiment was a huge honour. As pointed out by Kunene¹⁴³ Shaka accepted and advanced an extraordinary feeling of social union. When he controlled young men and young fellows it was to impart in them a 'warrior' mentality to protect his countries and to showing them duty as they were given small tasks such being herd-boys and milk young

¹³⁹ James Stuart Archive, vol. 1, p. 195.

¹⁴⁰ D. Wylie: Shaka, p. 37.

¹⁴¹ R. Mzamo: 'UShaka: A Military Giant', Sechaba, Volume 21, p. 9.

¹⁴² S. Ferguson: My Heritage Abc - Volume 1, p. 69.

¹⁴³ M. Kunene: Emperor Shaka the Great, p. 14.

men.¹⁴⁴ One must call attention to the extraordinary troubles in compiling the list of Zulu regiments. This is simply because the time has slipped by since these regiments were shaped, yet additionally because it is hard to unravel the assurance from the arrangements of names of the regiments that have been passed on. The list of regiments given underneath depends upon Zulu cited from Lombo, Bryant's list in Olden Times in Zululand and Natal, Shamase's Zulu potentates from the earliest to Zwelithini kaBhekuzulu and Kunene's and where different specialists vary from him, it is appeared by commentary referencing. The accompanying table demonstrates a portion of the men's regiments.

Table 1: MEN REGIMENTS

NAME OF THE REGIMENTS	
1. AmaWombe	2. UHlontane ¹⁴⁵
3. UKhangela	4. Njanduna ¹⁴⁶
5. Izin-Tenjana	6. Ingcobinga
7. UNomdayana	8. Ngqongolondo
9. AmaPhela	10. Tshoyisa
11. AmaKhwenkwe	12. Sibabanye
13. IziKwembu	14. Dubinhlamvu
15. IziZimazane	16. uFasimba
17. Jubingqwanda	18. Izinyosi
19. UDLambedlu	20. IziChwe
21. UMGumanqa	22. UBulawayo
23. IsiPhezi	24. UMkhangala
25. UMBonambi	26. uGubethuka
27. UNteke	28. AbeSuthu
29. UGibabanye	30. UMbelebele
31. Ufojisa	32. IZiyendane
33. Imfolozi	34. UMkhandlu
35. Indabankulu	
36. uFambisa ¹⁴⁷	
37. IDlangubo ¹⁴⁸	
38. INdabankulu ¹⁴⁹	
39. IBhekenya ¹⁵⁰	

¹⁴⁴ Zulu cited from S. Lombo: Analysis of Consumption Patterns and Their Effects on Social Cohesion from a Zulu Cosmology Perspective, p. 68.

¹⁴⁵ M.Z. Shamase: Zulu Potentates from earliest to Zwelithini kaBhekuzulu, p. 26.

¹⁴⁶ M. Kunene: Emperor Shaka Zulu the Great, p. (xxxv); M.Z. Shamase: Zulu Potentates from earliest to Zwelithini kaBhekuzulu, p. 26.

¹⁴⁷ M.Z. Shamase: Zulu Potentates from earliest to Zwelithini kaBhekuzulu, p. 26.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ M. Kunene: Emperor Shaka Zulu the Great, p. (xxxv)

¹⁵⁰ M.Z. Shamase: Zulu Potentates from earliest to Zwelithini kaBhekuzulu, p. 26.

Apart from male regiments, he grouped, Shaka additionally fused female regiments into his military association. The female regiments acted as supplementary units should there be a need to evacuate the *amaZulu* to a safer location in time of war. Shaka guaranteed that the ladies were very much prepared in the utilization of the assegai, and were as fierce in executing their obligations as the male regiments. Female commandants administered all of Shaka female's regiments.¹⁵¹ The regiments were sufficiently able to destruction equivalent numbers and safeguard against unrivalled powers until strengthened. Each regiment could walk without anyone else and meet the remainder of the military at the target. Shaka's regimental idea turned into the military of armed forces in Southern Africa that would overpower all restriction.

The quantities of young ladies of the kingdom were gathered at the military settlements. Formally, they were wards of the lord. They were sorted out in female reciprocals of the male *amabutho* and participated in formal moving and shows. When one of the male *amabutho* was offered authorization to wed, a female *amabutho* would be separated and the ladies were given out as ladies to the warriors. This is proven by Were,¹⁵² who argues that a female regiment of the same or equivalent age-group was also dissolved and its members have given to the freed warriors as wives. As indicated by Were, the ladies were sorted out in age-gatherings, somewhat for this reason, halfway for stately purposes and incompletely for the supply of work.¹⁵³ In any case, until such time, sex between individuals from the male and female age regiments was illegal.¹⁵⁴ Transgressions were punished by death.

The ceremonies for the establishment of regiments were commended with the utilization of meat, brew, and moving, and these were finished by known dates, occasions, and ages as indicated by severe custom practice.¹⁵⁵ For a long time, during Shaka's time, women's regiments were just as formidable and reputable as men's *amabutho*. Young women prided themselves on being part of the women's *amabutho*.¹⁵⁶ Both as women and specific *ibutho* they observed restrictions of what they had to eat or not to eat. Ralph Mzamo argues that those who

¹⁵¹ R. Lock and P. Quantrill: *Zulu Victory: The Epic of Isandlwana and the Cover-Up*, p. 60.

¹⁵² G.S. Were: *A history of South Africa*, pp. 66-74.

¹⁵³ G.S. Were: *A history of South Africa*, pp. 66-74.

¹⁵⁴ E.J. Krige: *Girls' Puberty Songs and their Relation to Fertility, Health, Morality and Religion among the Zulu*, p. 5.

¹⁵⁵ S. Lombo: *Analysis of Consumption Patterns and Their Effects on Social Cohesion from A Zulu Cosmology Perspective*, p. 65.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 69.

had surpassed the others in battle earned a high position as well as a larger slice of the spoils.¹⁵⁷ The Following are a portion of the female regiments Shaka assembled.

Table 2: FEMALE REGIMENTS

NAME OF REGIMENTS
1. Umvuthwamini
2. Inhlabathi
3. Imbabazane
4. uLusiba
5 uNgisimane
6. Amatshitshi
7. Izintombi
8. Amaqhikiza
9. uCeyana ¹⁵⁸

2.6. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF MILITARY AMAKHANDA

The accession of Shaka as the new Zulu leader 1816, introduced a new military imperative into the reaches of King Dingiswayo domain, centred on the small Zulu tributary. It was required of Shaka both to reorganize the existing military structures along lines of the Mthethwa army and to expand the strength of the armed. It is important to state that when Shaka first arrived amongst the Zulu to lay claim to the chieftaincy, he faced strong opposition from within the Zulu royal family. He finally gained the chieftaincy of the Zulu clan only by seizing it, and murdering the designated heir, Sigujana, and others like Mudli who opposed his accession. Shaka was supported in his effort for the Zulu chieftaincy by the Mthethwa and was accompanied amongst the Zulu by an armed Mthethwa subject.

In the first years of his reign, Shaka had to deal with the continued opposition of powerful relatives and powerful chiefdom, like the Ndwandwe. As a result, he was forced, at first to rely on external support for his rule, both from the Mthethwa, and other non-Zulu elements, even before the incorporation of the neighbouring chiefdoms. The Nkenetshane, a Zungu

¹⁵⁷ R. Mzamo: 'UShaka: A Military Giant', Sechaba, Volume 21, p. 6.

¹⁵⁸ M. Kunene: Emperor Shaka Zulu the Great, p. (xxxv); M.Z. Shamase: Zulu Potentates from earliest to Zwelithini kaBhekuzulu, p. 26.

“regiment”, for example, was used by Shaka for some time before the incorporation of the Zungu into the Zulu empire and their incorporation into the Zulu *amabutho*.¹⁵⁹ After some time, the army Shaka inherited from Inkosi Senzangakhona was expanded to include many non-Zulu who had tendered allegiance directly to Shaka. As Shaka recognised and implemented reforms in the military system, the men of the original nucleus were subjected to a process of resocialization into the new Shakan social order, such that the *amabutho* were eventually to become the very basis of the King’s power.¹⁶⁰

The initial hostility to Shaka’s accession indicates that a powerful impulse is likely to have existed for Shaka to undertake a fundamental restructuring of the *amabutho* and reordering of old loyalties. Shaka appears to have inherited three units from Inkosi Senzangakhona, amaWombe, isiPhezi and the iNtontela.¹⁶¹ The *amaWombe* veteran, head-ringed and married-men were little affected by this reorganisation.¹⁶² The isiPhezi, another veteran and head and head-ringed unit, was, by contrast, subjected to radical restructuring. Initially, the isiPhezi were permitted to retain their prestigious head-rings, probably until after the death of King Dingiswayo, where Shaka felt sure of sufficient support within the kingdom to enforce potentially unpopular reforms. One form which these took was the command that the isiPhezi remove their headrings, and thus symbolically renounce the social maturity of which the headring was the outward manifestation. The isiPhezi, in contrast to the *amaWombe*, were further prohibited from marrying, although they were initially permitted to form liaisons with women (known as the *izingodosi*), whom it was intended they would one day marry. The *izingoduso* remained at the homes of their parents, and limited sexual relations were permitted in terms of the relationship, however, this privilege too was subsequently withdrawn.¹⁶³

The iNtontela or more accurately, the section of the iNtontela known as the Dubinhlangu, was another veteran unit that experienced similar treatment. The *amaWombe* and Dubinhlangu were initially based at esiKlebheni, probably together with the isiPhezi, although no direct evidence exists on the isiPhezi residence. Units subsequently gathered by Shaka, and a number of those gathered by Dingane were also based initially at esiKlebheni or nearby Nobamba.¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁹ J. Cobbing, ‘The Evolution of the Ndebele amabutho’, *Journal of African History*, XV, p. 250.

¹⁶⁰ C. Hamilton: Ideology, oral traditions and the struggle for power in the early Zulu kingdom, pp. 335-336.

¹⁶¹ J.S.A. Vol. 2, pp. 94-96, evidence of Magidigidi.

¹⁶² J.S.A. Vol. 2, p. 204, evidence of Mangati.

¹⁶³ J.S.A. Vol, p. 303, evidence of Lunguza; J.S.A. Vol. 2, pp. 94-96, evidence of Magidigidi.

¹⁶⁴ J.S.A. Vol. 2, pp. 91-93, evidence of Magidigidi.

Both of these establishments were taken over by Shaka from his father. EsiKlebheni had been erected by Inkosi Senzangakhona as his main residence, and later became the site of his grave, subsequently rebuilt by Shaka and Mpande, esiKlebheni assumed the significant and ideological weight of an ancestral establishment and became an evocate and sacred site.¹⁶⁵

In Shaka's time, esiKlebheni was situated in the heart of the original Zulu lands. On the summit of a high ridge overlooking the middle Mkhumbane River, amidst other significant and ancient sites.¹⁶⁶ Nobamba was originally constructed by either Ndaba or Jama and re-erected afterwards by successive Zulu *amakhosi*,¹⁶⁷ the original Nobamba, like esiKlebheni became a royal grave-site. It became the gravesite because it is where the burial of *amakhosi* usually took place in the *isibaya* (cattle enclosure in the centre of a residence). Nobamba is known to have occupied some five different sites in roughly the same locality. Under Shaka, it was located on the banks of the Mpembeni.¹⁶⁸

The early *amakhanda* were all first established close to the sources of Zulu authority in the Makhosini. The amaWombe, for example, left esiKlebheni and built the emBelebeleni *ikhanda* close to the Mfolozi and Mkhumbane confluence.¹⁶⁹ The Dubinhlangu left and built the umGumanqa *ikhanda* in Ntonteleni on the Mthonjaneni ridge, just south of esiKlebheni,¹⁷⁰ while the isiPhezi built the umGumanqa *ikhanda* near emBelebeleni on the white Mfolozi, in the Mahlabathini area.¹⁷¹ Each *ibutho* consisted of some sections. These were usually made up of groups that had finished the stage of *ukukleza*. The sections were further divided into *amaviyo*, which tended to correspond to the original groups from particular areas in which youths had come up to an *ikhanda* to *kleza*. The new *amabutho* were distinguished from one another by the insignia which were assigned to them by the king. He gave them their names.¹⁷²

2.7. TRAINING AND UNIFORM OF THE AMABUTHO

The training programme to which the regiments were subjected and indeed the system into which they subsequently entered was being refined over time but it also compromised phases

¹⁶⁵ H.C. Lugg, *Historic Natal and Zululand*, p. 112.

¹⁶⁶ A.T. Bryant: *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal*, p. 46.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid*, p. 20.

¹⁶⁸ J.S.A. Vol. 2, pp. 90-94, evidence of Magidigdi.

¹⁶⁹ J.S.A. Vol. 2, p. 253, evidence of Mayinga.

¹⁷⁰ J.S.A. Vol. 2, p. 60, evidence of Madikane.

¹⁷¹ A.T. Bryant: *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal*, p. 124.

¹⁷² J. Stuart and D. McK Malcolm (eds.): *The Diary of Henry Francis Fynn*, pp. 284-85.

in the achievement of social maturity. Under Shaka, however, circumcision was no longer practised. It was suggested by some of Stuart's informants that the demise of circumcision was the result of an increase in the scale of warfare in Southeast Africa in the early nineteenth century.¹⁷³ In such circumstances, the long period of seclusion following circumcision would have been an enormous disadvantage as the people would not be able to fight.

Shaka trained his soldiers personally,¹⁷⁴ staying with them for hours on end, impressing upon them the shamefulness of running away from battle when it became tough. He preferred men not to go to combat in the first place rather than going and then running away. He always addressed his men before the battle and offered them the choice of pulling out. As a result, his army always achieved the highest military efficiency that had ever been known in South Africa because it possessed those essential qualities and high technology.¹⁷⁵ It is indisputable that the development of the military system in Southeast Africa caused major economic and societal changes.

Shaka kept and trained many regiments of young people. By introducing some innovations in military structure and warfare in Southeast Africa, Shaka radically changed the relationship between the ruler and the community at large. It appears that the basis of his strategy gave him a lot of power as these young people were his soldiers available for his ambition. This is argued by Bryant¹⁷⁶ who argues that the livestock of the whole community throughout the kingdom increased tremendously; even though most of the herds were owned by the king and his *izinduna*, all united in the pride roused by the magnificence of the royal herds as well as the pride of belonging to the incomparable military power of *amaZulu*.

Shaka had discovered that the crude sandals traditionally worn by Zulu men hampered his regiments faster. He believed that a war can be won through speed and competition. As a result, he discarded sandals to enable his warriors to run faster. Initially, the move was unpopular, but those who objected were severely dealt with. Several historical sources indicate that Shaka hardened the feet of his troops by having them stamp thorny tree and bush branches flat. Shaka drilled his troops frequently, implementing forced marches covering more than fifty miles a

¹⁷³ J.S.A. Vol. 3, p. 248, evidence of Mmemi.

¹⁷⁴ D.D. Phiri: From Nguni to Ngoni: A History of the Ngoni Exodus from Zululand and Swaziland to Malaŵi, Tanzania, and Zambia, p. 40.

¹⁷⁵ R. Mzamo: 'UShaka: A Military Giant', Sechaba, Volume 21, p. 6.

¹⁷⁶ A.T. Bryant: The Zulu People, p. 3.

day.¹⁷⁷ This was to be of importance for his warriors during campaigns as he relied on speed and they had to travel long distances to attack their enemies.

Regiments under Emperor Shaka wore distinguished uniforms, although not in a way that the Europeans would necessarily have recognised. Each regiment had its distinctive uniform. Firstly, all married regiments wore the head ring.¹⁷⁸ Unmarried regiments did not. This seems to have been the one part of Zulu dress that was adhered to throughout the entire period. Secondly, Shaka had created a system of shield colours and this had led to the creation of cattle breeding to achieve the necessary skin colours for shield production. In general terms, married regiments carried white shields and unmarried black. However, as time passed this simple system began to become less specific. For example, a regiment may be given an honour by the *inkosi* which was shown in a change of shield colour.

As his regiments expanded, Shaka began to match the shields of his regiments by a colour code.¹⁷⁹ These uniforms were made from various furs and feathers. The uniform consisted basically of a head-dress, the frontal loin-covering of skin or fibre, the skin buttock-covering (*ibheshu*), and ornaments made of ox-tails (*ishoba*), worn on legs and arms. Supplementary items were the furry *isinene*, composed of tassels of soft, twisted leather, also called *isidlaka* when made of genet skin, or other material stripped or slit down, but not twisted; the war-kilt made of genet skins (*insimba*), or a similar one made of monkey tails (*insimango*).¹⁸⁰ The variety and colour combinations chosen by Shaka for each regiment were countless and allowed each regiment to develop its own distinctive uniform. The various furs and feathers were chosen with great care and artistry so that the overall effect was highly dramatic. Leopard-skin ornaments were usually reserved for kings or persons of rank. The following picture depicts a different shield carried by some of Shaka's regiments.

¹⁷⁷ D. Morris: *Washing of the Spears*, p. 51; J. Laband: *Rope of sand: the rise and fall of the Zulu Kingdom in the nineteenth century*, p. 39; M.F.R. Kets de Vries: *Lessons on Leadership by Terror: Finding Shaka Zulu in the Attic*, p. 33.

¹⁷⁸ http://www.clockworksky.net/cliveless_world/zulu_ibutho.html

¹⁷⁹ S. Bourquin: 'The Zulu Military Organization and the Challenge of 1879', *South African Military History Journal*, Vol 4, No. 4.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

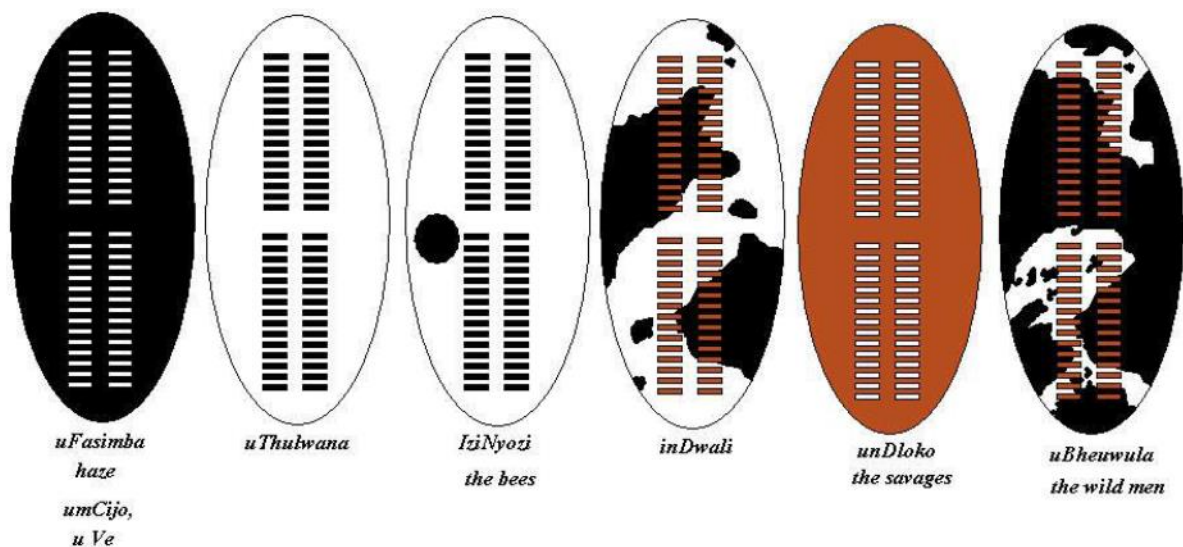


Figure1: Shaka's Regimental Color-Coded Shields

Each *ibutho* had a singular arrangement of headdress and other adornments so that the Zulu army could be said to have had regimental uniforms; latterly the 'full-dress' was only worn on festive occasions.¹⁸¹ The men of senior regiments would wear, in addition to their other headdress, the head-ring (*isicoco*) denoting their married state. A gradation of shield colour was found, junior regiments having largely dark shields the more senior ones having shields with more light colouring. This shield uniformity was facilitated by the custom of separating the king's cattle into herds based on their coat colours.¹⁸²

For in every case, the ornate and elaborate designs were reserved for the head-dress, especially among the younger regiments not yet given permission to wear the head-ring (*isicoco*) indicating a man's estate. In these regiments, the hair was grown, stiffened with clay and then cut into weird shapes around which the parts of the head-dress would be centred. Head-bands made of otter skin served as the foundation for a fantastic variety of plumes from cranes, finches, and ostriches. The head was normally protected by a pad of otter-skin or oxhide.¹⁸³ On the right and left two pieces of a jackal or green-monkey skin, cut square, six inches long, dropped from under the pad covering the ears. The Zulu said that these ear-covers had a very

¹⁸¹ <https://bezpieczny-motocyklista.info/jnuhkjcg/african-word-for-warrior-081c17> (accessed 29 October 2019).

¹⁸² <https://bezpieczny-motocyklista.info/jnuhkjcg/african-word-for-warrior-081c17> (accessed 29 October 2019)

¹⁸³ J. Bird: *The Annals of Natal 1495-1845*, p. 78.

useful purpose: that of making the warrior incapable of hearing either the maledictions or entreaties of his enemies so that he was out of reach of the influences of fear or compassion.

2.8. THE DISTRIBUTION OF AMABUTHO IN THE SOUTH COASTAL AREAS

The expansion of the Zulu *amabutho* was marked by the movement of the Zulu *amabutho* out of the Mkhumbane valley down into the coastal lowlands. The expansion of the army under Emperor Shaka moved beyond the original focus of Inkosi Senzangakhona veterans. This latter process, while greatly accelerating in this period, had its roots in the early phase of Zulu expansion. The earlier primary growth of the *amabutho* was the major impetus in forcing the relocation of the kingdom's heartland from the Mkhumbane valley to the coastal lowlands. This move indicated a shift in the whole role of the *amabutho* and the character of the Zulu state.

Emperor Shaka's capital Gibixhegu was first erected in the Makhosini, on the banks of the Mhodi, a tributary of the Mkhumbane Rivers.¹⁸⁴ By 1824, when the first traders visited Shaka, Gibixhegu was already rebuilt on the coastal plain between the Mhlathuze and Mlalazi rivers. Afterwards, the name of this capital was changed to Bulawayo and the *inkatha* was moved there from the Makhosini.¹⁸⁵ The trader's accounts of Bulawayo are the earliest descriptions of a Zulu establishment available. The entire establishment was roughly five kilometres wide and contained some and a half thousand 'beehive' grass huts. About ten thousand men were resident at Bulawayo, but on special occasions, Fynn estimated up to eighty thousand people could be accommodated.¹⁸⁶

The whole outer circumference of Bulawayo was surrounded by a palisaded fence. Within the fence, huts were arranged in a broad circular band. They were divided into sides (*uhlangothi*). The huts nearest the gate were occupied by the persons of least consequence whilst the king himself resided at the point furthest from the gate at the top end of the establishment in what was in effect, a royal reserve. The huts of the most important officers and councillors were situated alongside this reserve, for example, Ngomane *kaMqomboli*, one of Shaka's closest

¹⁸⁴ J.S.A. Vol. 1, p. 40, evidence of Baleni.

¹⁸⁵ K.C. Essery Papers, 'Royal kraals', p. 132.

¹⁸⁶ J. Stuart and D. McK Malcolm (eds.): The Diary of Henry Francis Fynn, pp. 71-78.

advisors had his quarters at the highest point, on the right-hand side, alongside the royal reserve.¹⁸⁷

Some of the huts were almost permanently occupied by full-time administrators and personnel of the *ikhanda* as well as by the *amabutho* of the *ikhanda*. The remainder of the huts were occupied temporarily by members of the king's retinue who accompanied him from one *ikhanda* to the next, and by people who came to the capital to attend to the king to participate in national ceremonies to *khonza* (give fealty, on an ongoing basis), to attend court proceedings and for a variety of other reasons.¹⁸⁸ In the centre of the huts was the *isibaya* the great cattle enclosure. It was divided into areas where the men of the *amabutho* assembled and danced. There were two mounds in this latter area, on which the king stood to address the men. It was here that cattle were issued for slaughter for the *amabutho*, that justice was met out, and where the king consulted with the leading men of the *amakhandla*, and of the nation, it was at the Bulawayo *isibaya* that the early traders were first received by Shaka. It was quite literally the public arena of affairs of state.¹⁸⁹

The resiting of the capital in the coastal lowlands of the Qwabe country meant that the whole centre of the Zulu kingdom had shifted. A number of the *amabutho* accompanied Shaka into the lowland, then amaWombo were based at Bulawayo itself while the Fasimba regiment just before the move, built an establishment in the immediate vicinity and remained closely associated with Bulawayo. The uMgumanqa also built a new establishment nearby called *kwaKhangela*. The isiPhezi erected their own separate establishment near *kwaKhangela*. The inTongela too shifted into the area and erected an *ikhanda* on the northern slope of the oBanjeni ridge, between the Mlalazi and Nyezane rivers. One *ibutho* which was formed earlier but which only built its own establishment at this time was Gibabanye.¹⁹⁰

The Gibabanye was initially attached to iNtonteleni regiment, but when its numbers were increased through the addition of a younger section, the Dlangubo, the latter section remained at iNtonteleni to complete its training, while the veteran senior section left to build a new establishment nearer the coast. This establishment, known as Mkhandlwini, was situated on the lower Mhlathuze.¹⁹¹ Some entirely new units appear to have been gathered after Bulawayo

¹⁸⁷ J.S.A. Vol. 3, p. 313, evidence of Mpatshana.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ A.T. Bryant: Zulu People, p. 473.

¹⁹⁰ J.S.A. Vol. 2, p. 60, evidence of Madikane.

¹⁹¹ J.S.A. Vol. 2, p. 61, evidence of Madikane.

was removed so that when they left esiKlebheni on the completion of their training, the first establishments which they entered or built were situated in the coastal lowlands. One such unit was the iNdabenkulu, of which there was, like the Gibabanye, a senior section known as the Bhekenya or the Great Ndabenkulu and the junior section simply known as the iNdabenkulu regiment.¹⁹²

The Gibabanye and the iNdabenkulu, together with some other units gathered later such as the uFojisa, uMfolozi and Ngqobolongo, joined with the old iNtontela and came to be known collectively as iziMpohlo, the ‘bachelors’ unit.¹⁹³ Another unit gathered at that time and which built its first *ikhanda* on the lowlands near the Mlalazi was the Dlangezwa,¹⁹⁴ into which was late added a further section known section as the abeSuthu.¹⁹⁵ By 1824 at least, the Zulu capital and the bulk of the Zulu *amakhanda* had moved from the old Mkhumbane heartland onto the coastal plain between the Mhlathuze and Mlalazi rivers, the inland *amakhanda* in the Makhosini continued to exist, but with, curtailed functions they were evolving into centres that were exclusively concerned with ritual matters, and with the training of recruits and were increasingly separate from the daily administration and government of the kingdom.

This separation of the ritual and administrative centres of the state had been a function of the growing security of the Zulu king’s position at this time and would have served to invest the ritual centres with increased mystique. The shift to the coastal lowland which saw the further expansion of the *amabutho* and which produced these changes was probably the product of three related factors in the evolution of the Zulu state: enormous pressure placed on the limited resources of the Mkhumbane valley by the rapid expansion and centralization of the *amabutho*: changing political circumstances both externally (the defeat of the Ndwandwe), and internally (Qwabe rebellion), which respectively permitted and promoted a move to the coast area.

2.9. THE REFORMATION OF WEAPONRY BY SHAKA

The establishment and extension of the state’s domain require considerable effort. The state adopts its domain extension priorities based on the nature of its internal and external

¹⁹² J.S.A. Vol. 2, pp. 54, 96, evidence of Magidigidi

¹⁹³ R.C.A. Samuelson: Long, long Ago, p. 236.

¹⁹⁴ K.C., Essery Papers, 'Royal kraals', p. 132.

¹⁹⁵ J.S.A. Vol. 2, p. 94, evidence of Magidigidi.

environments and the type of technology available to it. As such Shaka reformed the existing weaponry to suit his envisaged idea.

2.9.1. THE IKLWA

To overcome the traditional weakness of the old Zulu army, Shaka introduced a new short spear known as *iklwa*. From the beginning of his reformations, Shaka realized that the traditional spears that were used were not efficient for large battles between thousands of men. As a result, he was not impressed by the throwing of the long-javelin, saying that, they made close contact with the enemy impossible. He wanted his army to retain their spears and advance the right to their enemies.¹⁹⁶ He had seen that the traditional type of spear thrown from a distance, was no good for the regulated fighting in close formation he had in mind. He believed that a group of warriors should hold their *iklwa* instead of hurling them, and moved right up to the enemy behind the shelter of a barrier of shields.

In that way, he believed that if his *amabutho* applied that strategy on the battlefield they would be able to accomplish complete victory.¹⁹⁷ This strategy would be best applicable if his *amabutho* use the stabbing spear (*iklwa*) which had a much shorter handle, enabling the soldiers to engage in hand to hand combat with the enemy. Historical evidence indicates that the introduction of *iklwa* made warfare more ruthless. Yet some have posited that during this period fighting became more well-organized.¹⁹⁸ It became well organised because the warriors could protect themselves with their shields and concentrate on defeating the enemy with their knife-like spears. No more would be left defenceless and at the mercy of the enemy. Having proved the advantages of the new tactics, Shaka armed his warriors with short-handled stabbing spears and trained them to move up to their opponents in close formation with their body-length cowhide shields forming an almost impenetrable barrier to anything thrown at them.¹⁹⁹

To test the effectiveness of his new spear, a sham fight was used to test the effectiveness of his reform of weaponry. Thus, reeds were substituted for spears; one regiment was to pursue the accustomed manner of throwing, and the other, who were allowed but one reed, were permitted to charge.²⁰⁰ The latter, covering themselves with their immense shields (six feet long and of

¹⁹⁶ J.E. Flint (ed.): The Cambridge History of Africa, vol. 5, p. 327.

¹⁹⁷ S. Ferguson: My Heritage Abc - Volume 1, p. 69.

¹⁹⁸ S. Bourquin: 'The Zulu Military Organization and the Challenge of 1879', South African Military History Journal, Vol 4, No. 4.

¹⁹⁹ S. Ferguson: My Heritage Abc, Volume 1, p. 69.

²⁰⁰ F.A. Olayemi: African States and Societies, 1500-1800, p. 8.

an oval form), soon beat off their adversaries, and thus decided that Shaka's new regulation was the best.

2.9.2. THE SHIELD

The *amaZulu* had different types of shields, ranging from dancing shields to the man-sized war-shield (*isihlangu*). The war-shield ought to be just so tall that, when the owner stands erect, his eyes can look over the top depending on the tallness of the owner of the shield. The shields are always made of oxhide.²⁰¹ They are oval and are decorated by rows of slits cut lengthwise into the shield intertwined with strips of the hide (*igabelo*) of a contrasting colour. These strips primarily serve as a model for fastening the handle and for securing a stick that runs along the centre of the shield and is long enough to project at both ends. This stick serves several purposes, its main use being to strengthen the shield, to keep it stiff, and to assist the warrior in swinging it about in a rapid manner. The projection at the lower end is sharpened and is used as a rest on which the shield can stand, or as an additional means for jabbing in an emergency. The top projection, covered with fur, is decorative, but also gives additional protection to the face or head.²⁰²

Shaka also turned the shield from a purely defensive into an offensive instrument.²⁰³ He taught his soldiers, in close combat, to hook the left edge of their shield behind the outer edge of the enemy's shield and by wrenching that shield aside to expose the enemy's left flank to the attacking *iklwa*. In Shaka's days, shields constituted an important part of the uniform, were not private property, but were given out by the king or by *inkosi* or *induna* on his behalf.²⁰⁴ The skins of all the cattle in the garrison kraals belonged by right to the king and were retained by him to be made into shields.

With his introduction of a regimental organization, Shaka used shields in such a way that they became part of an *amabutho*'s uniform, viz, shields of uniform colour and marking would be assigned to individual *amabutho*.²⁰⁵ Junior regiments had all-black shields or shields in which black predominated; married men and mixed regiments wore predominantly red shields;

²⁰¹ S. Bourquin: 'The Zulu Military Organization and the Challenge of 1879', South African Military History Journal, Vol 4, No. 4.

²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ C.R. Allen: Shaka Zulu's Linkage of Strategy and Tactics: An Early Form of Operational Art?, p. 10.

²⁰⁴ S. Bourquin: 'The Zulu Military Organization and the Challenge of 1879', South African Military History Journal, Vol 4, No. 4.

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

seniority and battle-experience were indicated by an increasing whiteness, all-white shields reflecting the greatest honour. At this time shields were up to six feet high and three feet wide.²⁰⁶ Shields were therefore kept in special storage huts in the royal kraal, high off the ground to protect them against vermin and insects.²⁰⁷ Before a battle, they were distributed and after the battle, they had to be returned. The taking of the shields from the royal kraal was a great occasion. When the army was strengthened before battle some of the treated water which was sprinkled over the warriors naturally also fell onto the shields which thereby became ‘doctored’ instruments, imbued with magical properties. No shield should, therefore, be allowed to fall into the hands of the enemy.

On the march, particularly in windy or rainy weather, the shield was frequently rolled up and carried on the back, but only when the enemy was thought to be distant. Zulu regard the shield as the symbol of benevolence, peace, and protection. On a hot day, the king would be literally ‘shielded’ by his attendants against the sun. A shield would protect the little herd-boy cowering in the rain.²⁰⁸ During a thunderstorm, a warrior would stand in the open and shout defiance at the heavens and would parry each flash of lightning with his shield, as he was quite sure the shield’s magic would ensure his safety.²⁰⁹ What he still had to learn in later years was that, while this might be true concerning the bolts from heaven, it did not apply to the bullets of the white man.

2.10. THE IMPLEMENTATION OF MILITARY TACTICS AND STRATEGIES

Through his military tactics and strategy, Emperor Shaka transformed the traditional Bantu attitude to warfare and introduced into Southern Africa a concept of total war. This concept of total war was well seen in his idea of continuous military service and he kept his age-regiments constantly underarms in special military *amakhanda*. The offensive tactics he introduced were so successful that they remained the main offensive tactics employed by the Zulu kings after him.

²⁰⁶ M.P. Oosthuizen: *Uchibidolo: The Abundant Herds A Descriptive Study of the Sanga-Nguni Cattle of the Zulu People with Special Reference to Colour-Pattern Terminology and Naming-Practice*, pp. 113-114.

²⁰⁷ S. Bourquin: ‘The Zulu Military Organization and the Challenge of 1879’, *South African Military History Journal*, Vol 4, No. 4.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁹ Department of Information, Republic of South Africa: *Bantu*, Volume 22, p. 3.

When he assumed the throne he realised that the old tactics weren't working in the favour of those who used them. He came up with new ways that ultimately led him and his army to victory many times. It was inevitable that having developed King Dingiswayo's simple regimental system to perfection, he would fail to introduce much his order when he assumed the Zulu throne. It was important for him that after he re-armed his *amabutho*, Emperor Shaka also introduced new methods of warfare including methods of attacking enemies.

He opted to use the buffalo horn battle formation to attack his enemies.²¹⁰ Instead of engaging in loose skirmishing tactics with light throwing spears, Zulu *amabutho* were trained by Emperor Shaka to approach the enemy in tight formation and engaged in direct war. In war, the *amabutho* would beat the enemies with their larger war shields and kill them with their *iklwa*. During Emperor Shaka's time, the approach to the war was different as everyone had his duty in the *amabutho*. *Izinduna* were expected to supervise the battle and they were expected to stand at strategic locations and use the hand signals to direct *amabutho*. The *amabutho* were accompanied by uDibi (usually between six and 12 years of age), who carried the warriors' sleeping mats, neck rests, cooking pots and skin-cloaks.

The main purpose of the horns formation (or the buffalo horn formation) was to make it curve inward around the enemy so that the main body would advance killing all those who could not break through the encompassing lines. The buffalo horns formation was widely used by Emperor Shaka with great success. By this means of fighting, the bulk of the regiments formed a thick and therefore strong centre or base. On each side of this, a regiment would curve towards the enemy, rather like the horns of a buffalo. As the horns tried to surround enemy warriors, the thick centre would press forward and thereby annihilate them. Shaka's leading principle for the attack was to encircle the enemy and force him into combat at close quarters.²¹¹ Immediately preceding an engagement the *amabutho* were rapidly drawn up in a semi-circular formation and briefed by the *induna* in supreme command concerning the positions to be taken up by the various *amabutho*.

The Shakan battle formation represented the head of a steer and consisted of four formations. The chest (*isifuba*) composed of veteran regiments formed the centre and faced the enemy

²¹⁰ S. Takacs: *The Modern World: Civilizations of Africa, Civilizations of Europe, Civilizations of the Americas, Civilizations of the Middle East and Southwest Asia, Civilizations of Asia and the Pacific*, p. 138.

²¹¹ C.R. Allen: *Shaka Zulu's Linkage of Strategy and Tactics: An Early Form of Operational Art*, p. 4.

fairly squarely. A large reserve force was positioned a short distance behind them. The elderly warriors composing it were directed to turn their backs on the scene of battle so that they were unable to watch and become either dejected or unduly elated at the fortunes of battle. Two horn-like formations (*izimpondo*) on either flank were composed of the younger, eager, fleet-footed regiments. The commanding officer and his staff took up a position on high ground to watch the course of the battle and to issue any further directions, which were then transmitted by runners.²¹²

2.11. THE POST REORGANISATION STRUCTURE OF AMABUTHO

Emperor Shaka brought a way of weighing a war that was completely new in Southern Africa. It was through his military innovations that the *amaZulu* achieved political dominance in the Southern African region via a superior predominantly indigenous military system. The military innovations and change gave rise to the military effectiveness of the Zulu fighting system. What is important is that much of the innovations and diffusions observable in the Zulu military system have an internal origin. According to Laband, the innovations of Emperor Shaka were successful and the pressure to change it arguably would have had to originate from further afield for almost all conflicts were with surrounding African societies.²¹³

The changes in Southern Africa, as becomes visible in the Zulu way of war, is not to be viewed in terms of the European style, but more as indigenous innovations and their diffusion.²¹⁴ This implies that changes that did arise most probably derived from within this African domain. Although the introduced innovations did not have a foreign origin or elements thereof, they still affected the nature of warfare in Southern Africa. Shaka most probably fused existing elements of military systems into a single superior military system via innovations such as the stabbing spear, shock tactics and the way the military system of recruitment and sustaining manpower needs were conducted. These particular military changes were quite indigenous as they appeared and influenced military events before real exposure to European influences.

²¹² S. Bourquin: 'The Zulu Military Organization and the Challenge of 1879', *South African Military History Journal*, Vol 4, No. 4

²¹³ J. Laband. 2001a, Professor in History, Natal University, Electronic Interview with Francois Vreÿ, 01 June.

²¹⁴ F. Vrey: *An analysis of the evolving military futures debate: Explaining alternative military futures for the South African National Defence Force*, p. 97.

Although firearms and other military technologies did appear, at a later stage but were merely added to the status quo as a further means of fighting.²¹⁵ What is important to state is that these military technologies did not alter the way that Zulu military forces operated and were thus more peripheral. It must also be noted that Shaka introduced what one could refer to as government. This was the case because when he had conquered chiefdoms and kingdoms, he incorporated them into the Zulu state and gave them a chance to administer their local matters under the power of their *inkosi*. This was not always the case as some *amakhosi* were put to death by Shaka. In those cases, he could nominate a member of the royal line to become an *inkosi* of the conquered chiefdom. These conquered kingdoms and chiefdoms also helped to strengthen and enlarge the number of Shaka's regiments. This happened when Shaka took the young men of the incorporated chiefdoms and kingdoms to his royal regiments following their apparent ages.²¹⁶

2.12. THE DAILY FUNCTION OF SHAKAN AMABUTHO

The expansion and reorganisation of *amabutho* resolved many of the difficulties in the mass of *amabutho* and *amakhanda*. It also emphasises the changing nature and function of the *amabutho* under Emperor Shaka, revealing a system that was still evolving, and was in the process of being refined. While the heart of the Zulu empire and the greater part of the army shifted steadily southwards, then northern reaches of the empire were protected by a few major *amakhanda*, *kwaMandlakazi*, *ebaQulusini*, *eMphangisweni* and *oSibeni*. Unlike the southern *amakhanda*, these were not built by specific *amabutho* with a pronounced regional definition associated with a particular territory. The armed regiments associated with this four *amakhanda* or built homesteads in the vicinity. Their function was not simply the protection of the northern border of the empire but they were also involved in the subjugation and colonization of the northern areas and the integration of the local inhabitants into the Zulu empire.²¹⁷

The character of the other three northern *amakhanda* resembled that of *kwaMandlakazi* very closely. The Qulusini *ikhanda* was erected in the north-western extremity of the empire near Hlobane, once the original *iNgwe*, *Hlubi* and *Ngwane* inhabitants of the area had moved.²¹⁸ Nhlaka, of the Mdlalose collateral Zulu clan, was sent by Shaka to build Qulusini, and to act

²¹⁵ J. Laband. 2001a, Professor in History, Natal University, Electronic Interview with Francois Vreÿ, 01 June.

²¹⁶ J.E. Flint (ed.): The Cambridge History of Africa, vol. 5, p. 330.

²¹⁷ J. Guy: The Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom, pp. 36-7.

²¹⁸ K.C. Essery Papers, 'Royal kraals', pp. 131-132.

as *induna* in charge. He was accompanied by numbers of the Mdlalose who settled near the *ikhanda*. The area of authority of induna at *ebaQulusini* extended north across the Phongola, abutting on the Swazi kingdom. Mkabayi, a senior member of the Zulu ruling lineage, and a paternal aunt of Shaka's was placed in supreme command of Qulusini.²¹⁹ As occurred with the 'Mandlakazi', Shaka resettled recalcitrant elements from other regions in the Qulusini area. By King Cetshwayo's time, the people known as the Qulusi numbered thousands.²²⁰

The Qulusi were neither an *ibutho* nor a clan, or clan section. Ndukwana, one of Stuart's informants explained it this way:

“Baqulusi is not the name of a regiment but of a people: these people take their name from the kraal of Mkabayi, twin sister of Mmama, daughter of Jama.²²¹

Similarly, Guy notes that the importance of the *amakhanda* had eclipsed the importance of the clan insofar as the relations of its member to the state were concerned.²²² There was no *isibongo* 'Qulusi', Mdlalose, Zulu, Mthethwa and the Ndwandwe *isibongo* appeared to have been the most common names at the *ikhanda*.²²³ Neither was the *ikhanda* name 'Qulusini' ever used as a collective designation for several *amabutho*, in the way that 'eMbelebeleni' or 'iNtontoleni' was. Guy described both the 'Mandlakazi' and the Qulusi as 'royal section', in an apparent reference to their creation by the Zulu royal house. He elaborated saying, they were not drafted into the conventional regiments but mobilized and fought as a royal section and they were not represented in the king's council by an *inkosi*, because they represented the power of the Zulu royal house, not a pre-Shakan chiefdom.²²⁴

Little is known about the Mphangisweni establishment, but its circumstances appear to be very similar to those of *kwaMandlakazi* and Qulusini, Mphangisweni was built at the sources of the Black Mfolozi River. It was initially occupied by the men of Mbelebele, and also comprised a large Mthethwa contingent. It was under the control of members of the Zulu royal family. Abutting on the recalcitrant Khumalo, it acted as a watch-out post against the Ndwandwe. After the defeat in 1826, of Sikhunyana *kaZwide*, numerous Ndwandwe was incorporated into

²¹⁹ M.M. Fuze: *The Black People from whence they came*, p. 62.

²²⁰ J. Guy: *The Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom*, pp. 36-63.

²²¹ K.C. Stuart Papers, file 53, p. 95, evidence of Ndukwana.

²²² J. Guy: *The Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom*, p. 36.

²²³ A.T. Bryant: *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal*, pp. 681-97.

²²⁴ J. Guy: *The Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom*, p. 36.

the Zulu state, through Mphangisweni.²²⁵ The oSebeni *ikhanda* again appears to have been very similar to the other northern *amakhanda*. It was established near the Nhlazatshe under Mmama, twin Sister of Mnkabayi, and was considered to be another royal section, comparable to be Qulusi.²²⁶

Guy has claimed that these ‘royal sections represented the most radical departure from the pre-Shakan past and reduced the importance of the independent clans.’²²⁷ He contends that the sections like the oSebeni were a new and important means of social advancement for their non-Zulu members, but Guy gives little indication of precisely what this entailed. In fact, under Shaka the top offices at these *amakhanda* seem to have continued to be monopolized by the Zulu royals and members of the collateral Zulu clans. The principle purpose of all four *amakhanda* thus seems to have been as resettlement establishments, and the *amakhanda* were charged with the business of integrating the refugees and other settlers in their districts.²²⁸

2.13. THE EFFECTS OF HIS INNOVATIONS IN THE ZULU ARMY

It is a falsified accuse that Shaka’s army was merciless and bloodthirsty thereby attacking and killing a large number of people. If it was so, the history of the chiefdoms that formed the Zulu state would have disappeared. But to this day, the history of the incorporated chiefdoms and kingdoms and their grandchildren still exist today. What is not said is that those who said: “Malushu!” were not killed because during Emperor Shaka’s times the person who said so was not killed. An unarmed person was never beaten up. It is a misrepresentation of facts that Emperor Shaka’s army committed genocide. Older men, older women, women and children were not killed when Emperor Shaka mobilized chiefdoms and kingdoms. This is evidenced by the fact that older people were regarded as ancestors. Children and women were taken to build houses where they would live. Girls who have not yet been married were supplied to the *amabutho*.²²⁹

Shaka influence extended beyond this beyond the borders of KwaZulu Natal province as it is known today. It is that Zuluness that was established by Emperor Shaka which Mzilikazi

²²⁵ K.C. Stuart Papers, pp. 95, 95, evidence of Ndukwana.

²²⁶ A.T. Bryant: Olden Times in Zululand and Natal, pp. 41-42.

²²⁷ J. Guy: The Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom, p. 37.

²²⁸ C. Hamilton: Ideology, oral traditions and the struggle for power in the early Zulu kingdom, pp. 366-367.

²²⁹ J.S. Maphalala: ‘Kafushane ngolibo lweNgonyama uSenzangakhona’, *Bayede Newspaper*, 20 May 2016.

carried across the Transvaal and into what is now Zimbabwe to establish what is now the Ndebele nation and it was also that Zuluness which the Soshangane carried across the Ubombo Mountains into Mozambique to establish the Shangaan nation north of Delagoa Bay.²³⁰ At the social and economic level, the man did not exploit man in KwaZulu as was the case in Europe. There was in KwaZulu a far-more pronounced degree of social, economic and political equality than was evident in Britain and Europe until long after the Industrial Revolution. European and North American countries were only beginning to grope towards modern concepts of democracy and constitutional law.

Those who so glibly write about Shaka as a tyrant entirely misrepresent not only Shaka but the world in which he lived, reigned and died. It is noticeable that the development of the military system under Shaka in Southeast Africa caused major economic and social changes. That so much youth was concentrated at the royal barracks resulted in a massive transfer of economic potential to a centralized state. However, the cattle wealth of the whole community throughout the state was greatly improved; even though most of the herds were owned by the Emperor, his *amakhosi* and *izinduna*, all shared in the pride roused by the magnificence of the royal herds as well as the pride of belonging to the unequalled military power of the *amaZulu*.

He employed exceptional organisational skills, restructuring much of the traditional society to ensure its strengthening. His vision took him beyond the paradigm of destructive warfare, to embrace a concept of inclusiveness that secured the growth of the state during his reign, and the unity of the state for generations to come. Historians have argued that the rise of the military in Southeast Africa produced negative results as it affected many communities of Southeast Africa. It should be noted that it also had some positive aspects. It was also in Southeast Africa, that the rise of the military gave rise to large centralized kingdoms and empires, some of which survive to the present.

There was no regular pay in the Zulu army but as the life of the whole was a military one, the ambition of every man was to excel in bravery. To those who had been outstandingly brave in battle, the king gave presents of cattle which they could take home and the spoils taken in war were nearly liberally distributed. Beads and other ornaments were also given by the king's favour to warriors who distinguished themselves in war. What must be pointed out is the fact that the land under *amakhosi* in KwaZulu Natal is not ancestral land in every case, but includes

²³⁰ M.G. Buthelezi: King Shaka Day, Nsingweni Training Centre, Ongoye. 04 November 1984, p. 1.

in most cases, land given by Shaka himself to some of the ancestors as rewards. These rewards were for the valour displayed by those ancestors in the various wars in which they participated.²³¹

Shaka created a powerful organisation within the state which enabled the state to be administered properly and to grow from strength to strength because of the discipline and the collegial and harmonious work of all its members. He conquered people to bring them together so that together they could work in an organised and well-regulated society for the benefit of all. The stronger the society, the stronger the Kingdom, and the stronger the Nation, the more plenty was available to all the citizens, the more life was secure and the more people could reap the rewards of their industry and sacrifices. The increase in the armies changed the landscape that nation which grew out from the trouble times were made states at the partition of Africa. Moreover, several Great Warlords emerged and new military tactics were adopted to prosecute advancement or improvement in technology and military warfare. Though a lot of lives were wasted, and territories devastated, the episode still had positive influences on the people particularly when one considers the boldness and persistence with which the people of South Africa fought the apartheid regime in their land and colonial hegemony.

2.14. CONCLUSION

The chapter has discussed that the warfare before Emperor Shaka's time resembled the combat of opposing sportsmen more than a battle zone. The chapter has discussed how disputes between individuals were often settled. The chapter has also alluded to the fact that before Shaka battles were little more than brief and relatively bloodless clashes – hit-and-run raids that often ended inconclusively. But what was noticeable was that there were fewer casualties when they happened, which were read as a sign that auspices were not favourable for the affected chieftom that day, causing the chieftom to retreat. Through this engagement, people were rarely killed. All this changed when Emperor Shaka assumed the throne.

The discussion has also shown that under Emperor Shaka's guidance, warfare lost its resemblance to a game for untrained regiments. Warfare became a truly undertaking, leading to defeat or victory. His merit system accomplished two major aims within the military. First, it stimulated high achievement by commanders because nominations followed on displays of excellence in combat. Second, it allowed for the nomination of people from different ethnic

²³¹ M.G. Buthelezi: King Shaka Celebrations: Address by Mangosuthu Buthelezi. October 5, 1996.

backgrounds to serve in positions of leadership and thus contributed to the incorporation of different chiefdoms into the empire. Shaka's reforms enabled the Zulu army to operate as a swift, effective military machine, conquering powerful rulers in today KwaZulu Natal Province. His raised short spear ensured his people security, but his insight into societal organisation ensured their survival. He was decisive and skilful in fighting ruthless rivals and bitter enemies of the state.

This chapter has discussed the reorganization and expansion of the Zulu army under Emperor Shaka and its impact thereof. The following chapter discusses how after the reorganization of the army, Shaka began to absorb the neighbouring chiefdoms which also helped him expand his army as some men of the defeated chiefdoms were incorporated into the army. The following chapter discusses the periodization of the interpolations in the traditions of the Shakan 19th century. The chapter discusses the incorporation of the Qwabe chiefdom as they provide the best example of the interpolation of traditions.

CHAPTER 3

THE PERIODISATION OF INTERPOLATIONS IN THE TRADITIONS OF SHAKAN 19TH CENTURY

3.1. INTRODUCTION

The process of state formation under Emperor Shaka could be understood in terms of three main stages. The first entailed a period when Emperor Shaka consolidated all chiefdoms and kingdoms that settled in the Zulu heartland. The consolidation of these chiefdoms and kingdoms saw Emperor Shaka's state in over 2 years increasing its territory from around 200² kilometres to over 10 000² kilometres. This included heartland which is located between the White uMfolozi and uMhlathuze Rivers. Most of these kingdoms and chiefdom had kinship and traditional ties with the *amaZulu* as they were all located in the heartland. The second consolidation of the Zulu state which began around 1821 comprised of those chiefdoms and kingdoms that settled south of the uMhlathuze and as far as the Thukela Rivers, as well as north of the White uMfolozi up to the uMkhuze Rivers. These chiefdoms and clans were known as *amaNtungwa-Nguni*. The third consolidation of Shaka's state formation occurred around 1825-26 when Shaka's empire was at its zenith.²³²

The previous chapter discussed the reorganisation and expansion of the Zulu army. This chapter focuses on the periodization of interpolations in the traditions of the Shakan 19th century, with the incorporation of the Qwabe chiefdom into the Zulu empire as a thematic question. The Qwabe were said to be completely different from the Zulu. This chapter argues that it was after he reorganised and expanded his army that Shaka began to embark on military campaigns. By attacking various chiefdoms, this chapter argues that Emperor Shaka began to interpolate his traditions. This is to say that the Zulu state which emerged in the early 19th century in Southeast Africa was established out of several different chiefdoms and kingdoms practising different customs, speaking different dialects and claiming varied historical origins.²³³ Through an examination of traditions of origin, this chapter also traces some of the major interpolations in the traditions of the Shakan period and the Qwabe which provide a key reference point in the periodisation of interpolations in the traditions of Zululand as a whole.

²³² J. Weir: Ideology and religion: the Missing Link in Explanations for the rise and Persistence of the Zulu State, pp. 12-13.

²³³ C. Hamilton: Traditions of Origin and the Ideological Appropriation of the Past in the Zulu Kingdom under Shaka, p. 1.

3.2. THE HISTORY OF THE QWABE

The Qwabe chiefdom was one of the oldest, largest, and most prestigious African chiefdoms in the British colony of Natal.²³⁴ In the era of Inkosi Senzangakhona, the *amaZulu* owed allegiance to and was a subordinate tributary to the Mthethwa of King Dingiswayo. To consolidate his kingdom, King Dingiswayo had used military force as well as persuasion to consolidate many smaller chiefdoms and kingdoms in the area. Other large chiefdoms of about the same size as the Mthethwa kingdom, judging from their numbers of large villages and *amabutho*, were those of the Ndwandwe of King Zwide, the Hlubi of King Bhungane, the Qwabe, the Nyuswa and south of the Thukela River, the Thuli and Cele.²³⁵ The Qwabe traditions of origin clearly show that there were contradictions that suggest that there was manipulation in their history.

It is important to consider the Qwabe chiefdom because when Emperor Shaka embarked on his process of state formation, the Qwabe became one of the largest chiefdoms to be subjected to Zulu rule under Shaka. This chapter posits that by this act of incorporating the Qwabe, Shaka was inserting the traditions that were completely different from the Zulu. This was the case because the Qwabe were in cultural, linguistic and historical terms the only group that the Zulu sought to assimilate and the most different from the Zulu.²³⁶ Like many of the other chiefdoms, the Qwabe chiefdom had a long history of conflict with the Zulu kings.²³⁷

The term tradition in this chapter refers to the name given to those cultural features which, in situations of change, were to be continued to be handed on, thought about, preserved and not lost. Horner defines tradition as selected aspects of a past (though not necessarily prehistoric) way of life, there often appears the choice: shall we pick from (our) tradition or shall we go along with something mainstream or more modern? This choice might be ideal for many people in the world, were it possible.²³⁸ Originally the concept of tradition, literally from the Latin meaning “something handed over,” in slowly changing societies was almost equivalent to inheritance. The tradition was both the means of making a living and the symbols, stories and

²³⁴ A.T. Bryant: *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal*, p.185.

²³⁵ E.A. Eldredge: *Shaka's Military Expeditions: Survival and Mortality from Shaka's Impis*, p. 210.

²³⁶ C. Hamilton: *Traditions of Origin and the Ideological Appropriation of the Past in the Zulu Kingdom under Shaka*, p. 152.

²³⁷ M. Mahoney: 'Racial Formation and Ethnogenesis from Below: The Zulu Case, 1879-1906' *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 36, 3, p. 559.

²³⁸ A.E. Homer: *The Assumption of Tradition: Creating, Collecting, and Conserving Cultural Artifacts in the Cameroon Grassfields (West Africa)*. Ph.D. dissertation in anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, pp. 14-17.

memories which gave one both identity and status.²³⁹ Tradition plays an important role by providing people with an inherited framework upon which to base future learning.

What comes from the history of the origin of the Qwabe chiefdom is that the Qwabe were made up of individual lineages with several separate clan affiliations. Some of them were, in any event, genealogically related to the ruling Qwabe clan, although many people with Qwabe clan affiliations were living outside the Qwabe polity. Nor was Qwabe clan affiliation necessarily significant for all the people encompassed by the affiliation.

3.3. THE QWABE TRADITIONS OF ORIGIN

During the 1700s, the Qwabe chiefdom had advanced over a wider environmental and had become one of the growing chiefdoms between uMhlathuze and the Thukela River. By the mid-eighteenth century, the Qwabe chiefdom ruled much of the area from the centre of the Mhlathuze River to the sea, and between the Mhlathuze River in the north and the Thukela River in the south.²⁴⁰ It is of importance to mention that during this phase of expansion, the Qwabe chiefdom had displaced several smaller chiefdoms, including the Ngageni, Cele, and Luthuli, and had achieved almost total control over a region encompassing over two thousand square miles.²⁴¹

During the eighteenth century, the Qwabe chiefdom had also gained control of the Ngoye hills, a division dividing the Mhlathuze and Thukela basins. The Ngoye hill region and neighbouring lowlands received as much as forty inches of rainfall per year. The water-retaining sandy soils of the Mhlathuze flood plain were ideally suited for multiple-cropping and were particularly important for the cultivation of maize.²⁴² In short, the land occupied by the Qwabe was perfect for agriculture and it provided plenty of grazing land for herds of cattle. The Ngoye hills also provided access to the uplands, where Ngongoni veld was available for intensive year-round grazing.²⁴³ During the second half of the eighteenth century, the Qwabe chiefdom had advanced southwestward into the Mpapalala flats, and northward to just south of the present town of Melmoth. The strongest base of Qwabe control remained, however, in the Ngoye hills and the

²³⁹ N.H.H. Graburn: *What is Tradition?* Museum Anthropology 24(2/3), pp. 6-7.

²⁴⁰ John Wright: 'The Thuli and Cele paramountcies in the coastlands of Natal, c. 1770–c. 1820', *Southern African Humanities* Vol. 21, p. 177–194.

²⁴¹ A.T. Bryant: *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal*, pp. 537-538.

²⁴² C.A. Hamilton: 'Traditions of Origin and the Ideological Appropriation of the Past in the Zulu Kingdom under Shaka', *Swaziland Oral History Project*, pp. 1-37.

²⁴³ A.T. Bryant: *Zulu People as They Were before the White Man Came*, p. 313.

adjacent uplands. It was from this point that Inkosi Phakathwayo ruled his powerful Qwabe chiefdom during the Shakan wars.²⁴⁴

The Qwabe were in Shaka's time the largest chiefdom in what was later going to be the British colony of Natal. They were located from a tiny nucleus beneath the emaNdawe hill, south of the Mhlathuze, the family had expanded, on the one hand, seawards along the oNgoye hills and Mhlathuze River, till it had reached the Dube and Mthethwa borders, and on the other, up the Mhlathuze River almost as far as the Nkandla forest.²⁴⁵ The Qwabe were the largest and the most important chiefdom to be incorporated by the Zulu in the early years of Shaka's reign. The experience of the Qwabe was of enormous significance in shaping the emerging Zulu state.

The Qwabe had originally resided in the Matigulu River in Zululand, but later they migrated to the south and crossed the Thukela.²⁴⁶ During Shaka's time, they were the most advanced Qwabe outpost to the south, occupying all the country from the vicinity of the sources of the Nonoti (where they had the Cele, as their neighbours) away towards the northern bank of uMvoti. They had spread themselves till somewhat beyond the point where the river is joined by the Hlimbitshwa.²⁴⁷ The Qwabe were brought under the Zulu domain when Shaka was moving quickly to build his power to meet the mighty of the Ndwandwe and who remained uncontrollable.²⁴⁸ This was done by inventing a tradition that the Zulu and Qwabe were related in the past that had purportedly fallen out of memory via an ancestor named Malandela who was the progenitor of both the Zulu and Qwabe lines.²⁴⁹

After the Qwabe chiefdom was incorporated, their men were required to undertake complete resocialization and retraining, the Zulu way, to absorb the military ideology of the Zulu *amakhanda*, and to participate in ceremonies stressing the ideological preeminence of the Zulu king to complete their incorporation.²⁵⁰ Qwabe traditions show the clearest instance of how false notions of kingship was invented to create a common identity. The history of the traditions of the Qwabe lineages and those of the Qwabe chiefdoms have for a long time been marked or

²⁴⁴ J.S.A. Evidence of Mmemi kaNgulazane, vol. 3, p. 259.

²⁴⁵ A.T. Bryant: Olden Times in Zululand and Natal, p. 185.

²⁴⁶ A.T. Bryant: History of the Zulu and Neighbouring Tribes, p. 177.

²⁴⁷ Ibid, p. 77.

²⁴⁸ C.A. Hamilton: 'Ideology, Oral Traditions and the Struggle for Power in the Early Zulu Kingdom' (MA thesis, University of the Witwatersrand), pp. 181-182.

²⁴⁹ Ibid.

²⁵⁰ Ibid, p. 175.

distinguished by some confusion. This confusion has always affected the Qwabe ruling lineage and the Qwabe subordinates.

The first misunderstanding lies in the statement that the Qwabe chiefdom was made up of people with several separate clan affiliations, some of whom were in some way genealogically related to the Qwabe ruling. Another misunderstanding stems from the practices of the ruling Qwabe family and those who question the practice of seniority in the ruling lineage. The last ideology is based on the declarations of shared origin between the *amaZulu* and the *amaQwabe*. This allegation suggests that Zulu and Qwabe were the sons of Malandela, suggesting that they hold a similar heritage.

The Qwabe chiefdom as one of the powerful chiefdoms had many subordinates and a number of these subordinates claimed to be directly related to the ruling lineage. The Qwabe chiefdom was challenged mostly by internal problems. This means that the Qwabe chiefdom was threatened more serious by internal problems than external problems. These problems originated mainly in succession disputes. The traditions have shown that there was a stern competition for seniority between the Qwabe, Ngadi and the Cineka who all claimed to be the senior line of the Qwabe.²⁵¹

The seniority of the Qwabe was always challenged by several lineages who also claimed to be of the ruling lineage. The challenge came as a result of the Khuzwayo, Makhanya and Ncwana who claimed their origin as separate and more ancient than that of the Qwabe ruling lineage. The Makhanya people claimed to have originated in the north around the Mkhuze. The Makhanya were one of the fragments who fled southwards from Zululand over the Thukela River into Natal during the wars of conquest.²⁵² It was not only the traditions of the Makhanya that challenged the hegemony of the Qwabe but also the traditions of the Ncwana also challenged the Qwabe superiority as they claimed to be senior to the Qwabe ruling lineage.

The fierce competition in the tradition of the Qwabe ruling house and that the Qwabe subordinates had been the issue of debate among James Stuart's informants. Mkhohlengana and Mkhothana had posited that the Ncwana were the immigrant who became part of Zululand under the Ndlovu.²⁵³ These informants continue to argue that the Ncwana joined the Qwabe

²⁵¹ C.A. Hamilton: 'Ideology, Oral Traditions and the Struggle for Power in the Early Zulu Kingdom' (MA thesis, University of the Witwatersrand), p. 156.

²⁵² D.H. Reader Zulu Tribe in Transition: The Makhanya of Southern Natal, p. 23.

²⁵³ E.J. Krige: The Social System of the Zulus, p. 41.

and became amalgamated with as close kin. This confusion in the traditions did not end with the Qwabe. The tradition of the origin of the Chili was also matched with confusion. It was suggested that the Chili were a lineage as the Ngadi and Mcineka. They (the Chili) claimed to be senior and therefore supposed to be the ruling lineage. But the patrilineal allegiance of the Chili suggested something else. Their allegiance suggested that they were related to the Bhele people who claimed their origin and were entirely separate from the Qwabe people.²⁵⁴ What is confusing is that the Chili people were said to have a strong connection with the Qwabe ruling lineage.

It is important to mention that all the subordinates who claimed to be senior that the Qwabe ruling house has been components of the Qwabe chiefdom. Just like the Mthethwa kingdom, the expanding Qwabe chiefdom of the late 18th century emerged out of numerous lineages. Some of which were genuine genealogical sub-sections of other lineages and others claimed to be directly related to the Qwabe ruling lineage but whose traditions of origins indicate that these claims were falsified. One of the authors who took to his vein and investigate the expansion of the Qwabe chiefdom was Hedges. He was of the view that the Qwabe expansion came as a result of the trade of corns for goats and cattle. Hedges continue to argue that the earliest phase of the Qwabe expansion involved the assimilation and incorporation of outside lineages.²⁵⁵

It appears that several techniques were used to assimilate other groups by the Qwabe. Apart from trade, Qwabe used intermarriage within itself to maintain its hegemonic position. This was the best technique the Qwabe used and they avoided exogamy by asserting that the Qwabe ruling lineage was a separate group from its subordinates.²⁵⁶ This separation gave the Qwabe growth and was very influential to the rise of lineages like the Mbhedu, Gumbi, Phahla, Mgobhozi and Masabhayi.²⁵⁷ In this way, the Qwabe was seen as a growing lineage. This is evidenced by James Stuart informant, Mbovu, who argued that a clan does not grow where

²⁵⁴ C.A. Hamilton: 'Ideology, Oral Traditions and the Struggle for Power in the Early Zulu Kingdom' (MA thesis, University of the Witwatersrand), p. 156.

²⁵⁵ D.W. Hedges: *Trade and Politics in Southern Mozambique and Zululand in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries* (PhD Thesis, University of London, 1978), p. 169.

²⁵⁶ C.A. Hamilton: 'Ideology, Oral Traditions and the Struggle for Power in the Early Zulu Kingdom' (MA thesis, University of the Witwatersrand), p. 134.

²⁵⁷ M. Fuze: *The Black People and whence they came*, p. 14.

there is one king but it grows where there are offshoots.²⁵⁸ The Qwabe chiefdom also grew through these offshoots.

Using this technique, up to the late eighteenth century, the Qwabe chiefdom kept on growing. By this time, the Qwabe chiefdom was made up of several lineages. Some of these groups claimed their genealogical sub-sections of other lineages and some of them claimed to be directly related to the Qwabe ruling house although their traditions of origin presented that they were false.²⁵⁹ What is noticeable is that the Qwabe chiefdom was noticeably different from the Mthethwa and the Ngwane polities. These two chiefdoms (the Mthethwa and Ngwane) had within them populations that were in every way different from the ruling house.²⁶⁰ The Qwabe polity was not different from the two chiefdoms as it was also growing and in the process of becoming militarized. The only difference with the Qwabe was that the position of the ruling lineage was not firmly fixed and that it encountered failures to stop the ongoing opposition from powerful subordinate lineages.

The reign of Inkosi Khondlo, for instance, encountered a period of internal political crisis as certain Qwabe dignities refused to accept Inkosi Khondlo's choice of heir. Inkosi Khondlo nominated Prince Nomo as his heir, but the Qwabe chiefdom refused.²⁶¹ This ultimately resulted in a civil war between the amaGolokoqo and Mthandeni factions. The amaGolokoqo were Nomo's people.²⁶² The competition of Inkosi Khondlo's succession within the Qwabe chiefdom led to the strong ruling group and increasingly subordinate groups. This also led to a flight of certain groups which deeply divided the Qwabe chiefdom as certain groups flee to seek refuge in other areas of the country. The traditions of origins for the subordinates Qwabe lineages were completely different from those of the subordinates of the Mthethwa and the Ngwane. The subordinates of the Qwabe claimed to be relatives of the ruling lineage.²⁶³ This led to confusion and succession disputes between the Qwabe ruling house and its subordinates.

²⁵⁸ J.S.A. Vol. 3, p. 43, Evidence of Mbovu.

²⁵⁹ C.A. Hamilton: 'Ideology, Oral Traditions and the Struggle for Power in the Early Zulu Kingdom' (MA thesis, University of the Witwatersrand), p. 162.

²⁶⁰ Ibid.

²⁶¹ E.A. Eldredge: *Kingdoms and Chiefdoms of Southeastern Africa: Oral Traditions and History, 1400-1830*, p. 157.

²⁶² James Stuart Archives, vol. 3. Evidence of Mmemi kaNguluzane, p. 266.

²⁶³ C.A. Hamilton: 'Ideology, Oral Traditions and the Struggle for Power in the Early Zulu Kingdom' (MA thesis, University of the Witwatersrand), p. 161.

The other claim was that the Qwabe and the Zulu were brother clans that had been separated many years ago. This claim argues that Zulu and Qwabe came from the same progenitor, Malandela. The basis of claims of common descent was the main terrain of ideological struggle. Malandela was said to have been born around 1597 and died around 1691.²⁶⁴ Although nothing much is known about his reign and the nature of his clan, it appeared that he and his wife, Nozinja, had two sons namely Qwabe and Zulu.²⁶⁵ According to this story, the Qwabe chiefdom and the Zulu state descended from two brothers with those names and their father was named Malandela.²⁶⁶ This claim is widespread in many oral traditions and it has gone unquestioned for so long. Bryant has tried to test this claim by tracing the traditions of Malandela.²⁶⁷ Despite his attempt to create a tradition with later historical accounts, certain uncertainties remained which encouraged further research on the issue of Zulu and Qwabe.

In line with further research on the issue of origin between Zulu and Qwabe, Gumede first traces the origin of the Nguni people. According to Gumede,²⁶⁸ history identifies Nguni people as having originated in the North of Africa. They then later descended from the North down the navel of the continent to find better pastures in the southern part of Africa. Malandela, the fourth King of the Nguni reigned. He had married Nozidiya (otherwise known as Nozinja) who gave birth to all-male offspring. Qwabe was the firstborn and Zulu the last. When Malandela passed on, Nozidiya took charge of the family. She was very skilful. She made reed mats and bartered them in the stock exchange, which led to her ownership of a rare breed of pure white Nguni cows.

One day Qwabe came home after he had departed following a family dispute, to a cattle enclosure full of Nozidiya's special cows. On Qwabe's enquiring to whom they belonged, she stated that they belonged to his younger brother Zulu. He argued against this as he believed that as the heir he was entitled to all the inheritance. That then sparked a dispute between Qwabe and Zulu with Nozidiya on Zulu's side. To prevent the dispute from escalating into a physical fight, Nozidiya then took Zulu and their stock and relocated towards Mthonjaneni where she built her own house. Qwabe then remained behind, looking after his father's homestead and further expanding the family - thus the separation of Qwabe and Zulu. Bryant

²⁶⁴ M.Z. Shamase: *Zulu Potentates- from the earliest to Zwelithini KaBhekuzulu*, p.1.

²⁶⁵ K. Johnson: *A Divine Revelation of Hip Hop*, p.41.

²⁶⁶ M.R. Mahoney: *The Other Zulus: The Spread of Zulu Ethnicity in Colonial South Africa*, p. 22.

²⁶⁷ A.T. Bryant: *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal*, pp. 18-21.

²⁶⁸ M.R. Mahoney: *The Other Zulus: The Spread of Zulu Ethnicity in Colonial South Africa*, pp. 22-23.

says Zulu and Nozidiya found settlement amongst the Qungebeni people, and settled in the Mkhumbane valley, later to become the heart of the Zulu Kingdom, Qwabe and his followers remained undisturbed, on the Mhlathuze, from where they too developed into an independent political unit called the Qwabe chiefdom.²⁶⁹

The Qwabe chiefdom was one of the most ancient and famous chiefdoms in Natal and Zululand. Qwabe was a son of Malandela, who flourished probably at the beginning of the sixteenth century.²⁷⁰ Although Malandela indicated his wish that Qwabe should be his successor as *inkosi*, a dispute arose between Qwabe and his younger brother Zulu, who moved to build his new *umuzi* near Babanango.²⁷¹ Eventually Zulu became the more prominent *inkosi*, and from his lineage came Emperor Shaka, the founder of the Zulu state. The dispute between Zulu and Qwabe filtered down the generations, and the Qwabe chiefdom and Zulu state were traditionally hostile.²⁷²

The assertion that Zulu and Qwabe were related people have for a long time attracted the interest of historians. There have always been questions surrounding the truthfulness of the story about Malandela's sons. Many have called it a myth while some still vow it is a true story that bears evidence of the origins of the Nguni people. Hedges, for instance, concurred with Bryant's view that Qwabe and Zulu were related people.²⁷³ They argue that the two were the sons of the common progenitor, Malandela. The fact that the two shared a common ancestor was understood to be the basis of a shared identity between the state of Zulu and the chiefdom of Qwabe. As a result of the mutual identity, the Qwabe was thought to have been introduced into the Zulu state by Emperor Shaka and it was believed that they were descendants of Malandela and were therefore also the ancestors of the people. This may be the cause why

²⁶⁹ M. Hlatshwayo: Qwabe and Zulu: A True Story or Crafted Myth? The Archival Platform, June 14, 2012.

²⁷⁰ J. Stuart: A History of the Zulu Rebellion; 1906: And of Dinuzulu's Arrest, Trial and Expatriation, p. 345.

²⁷¹ M.M. Hadebe: A contextualization and examination of the impi yamakhandla (1906 uprising) as reported by J. L. Dube in Ilanga Lase Natal, with special focus on Dube's attitude to Dinuzulu as indicated in his reportage on the treason trial of Dinuzulu (MA Dissertation, University of Natal, 2003), p. 39.

²⁷² Ibid, pp. 39-40.

²⁷³ A.T. Bryant: Olden Times in Zululand and Natal, p. 17; D.W. Hedges: Trade and Politics in Southern Mozambique and Zululand in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries (PhD Thesis, University of London, 1978), p. 169.

Emperor Shaka had agreed to assimilate the Qwabe, yet other communities had been attacked, conquered, and defeated.

The story of Zulu and Qwabe has led to Bryant and Hedges trying to put more interest by trying to combine their stories. A suggestion from Bryant pointed out that one of the subordinate Qwabe lineages, like the Ngadi, had accompanied Malandela from the upland but were delayed at the banks of the Mfule River. This Bryant's version links up the origin of the lineage of the Ngadi traditions with that of a common origin with the Zulu through Malandela.²⁷⁴ What has been pointed out in many discussion is that the Qwabe lineages came into existence after the death of Malandela and the split between Zulu and Qwabe. From all the evidence it appears that the Qwabe lineages failed to bring evidence that they were connected to Zulu. This was also confusing because even the Ngadi patrilineal allegiance was shared by Zulu. The Ngadi tradition of origins has been confusing to the extent that no one understood how they were claimed to be connected to Malandela. This is simply because what has been discovered reveals that the Ngadi founding figure was not Malandela, the *amaNgadi* are of Madlokovu.²⁷⁵

This confusion in the traditions between the Qwabe and the Zulu also extended to their calling. This calling also produced a major confusion as the Qwabe were categorized as *abasezansi* and the Zulu *abasenhla*. Historians have argued that this claim which emphasises the lowland origins of the Qwabe people makes it uneasy with claims to a common origin with the Zulu who were called *abasenhla*. For instance, Hedges clarification of the traditions described the Qwabe as uplanders (*abasenhla*), and the Cele and Thuli people as lowlanders and the Cele and Thuli people as lowlanders (*abasezansi*).²⁷⁶ It is of importance to state that this cannot be found in any source except in the evidence of James Stuart informants. It must also be pointed out that this informant does not make any reference to any of the two phrases, *abasenhla* and *abasezansi*. These informants have discussed the relations between the Qwabe and their two lineages which are Thuli and the areas they occupied. Although the traditions indicate that the Qwabe were usually called *abasezansi*, it appears that Hedges incorrectly mentioned to the

²⁷⁴ D.W. Hedges: *Trade and Politics in Southern Mozambique and Zululand in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries* (PhD Thesis, University of London, 1978), p. 169; A.T. Bryant: *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal*, p. 17.

²⁷⁵ C.A. Hamilton: 'Ideology, Oral Traditions and the Struggle for Power in the Early Zulu Kingdom' (MA thesis, University of the Witwatersrand), p. 124.

²⁷⁶ J.S.A., Vol. 3, pp. 262-63, evidence of Mmemi.

Qwabe as *abasenhla*. He mistakenly called them *abasenhla* because he failed to provide a piece of single evidence as to why he claimed the Qwabe were *abasenhla*.²⁷⁷

In a closer examination, one finds that there is little truthfulness in the story of Malandela. The significant lapse in the traditions between Malandela and Qwabe is that none of them their gravesites are known today. It must be pointed out that even the later kings failed to recognise their (Malandela and Qwabe) gravesites. But other Zulu and Qwabe *amakhosi* grave sites were carefully well-kept. Several accounts of the Qwabe predominantly genealogy is available for comparison. Two Qwabe informants, Mbomvu and Kambi, on their testimonies affirmed that the Qwabe and Zulu were related through the figure of Malandela.²⁷⁸ It must be pointed out that the two did not include the names of Malandela and Qwabe in their genealogies. Even when pushed by Stuart to make the connection, Kambi could not trace the line up to the man Qwabe and so connect with the Zulu. Dinya another Qwabe informant who did connect the name of Qwabe into the chiefly genealogy expressed reservations, 'I am not quite sure of the father of Mahlobo, but fancy that it must be Qwabe.'²⁷⁹

It appears that the remaining sequence of contradictions characterising Qwabe traditions of origin appear to owe their existence to the different response of various sectors of the Qwabe chiefdom to the imposition of Zulu rule notably that of Qwabe resistance to Zulu rule and Zulu attempts to construct an ideological basis for the incorporation of the Qwabe. The main amongst these are the differences surrounding the Malandela tradition, together with the conflicting claims concerning the father of Qwabe. It was from time to time said that Qwabe was the son of Malandela and at other times that he was the son of Nozidiya. Also, Qwabe claims of the group's identity are confusing. It was variously said that the Qwabe are the *abeNguni*.²⁸⁰ These two sons, Qwabe and Zulu are spoken of as *amaNtungwa*.²⁸¹

The division between the early commentators who wished to establish a clear continuity between the two periods and associated figures is puzzling. One of the leading observers of this was Bryant, he observed that:

²⁷⁷ D.W. Hedges: Trade and Politics in Southern Mozambique and Zululand in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries (PhD Thesis, University of London, 1978), p. 169; A.T. Bryant: Olden Times in Zululand and Natal, pp. 167-168.

²⁷⁸ J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 209, evidence of Kambi.

²⁷⁹ J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 95, evidence of Dinya.

²⁸⁰ J.S.A., Vol 2, p. 85, evidence of Magidigidi; J.S.A., Vol 1, p. 208, evidence of Kambi.

²⁸¹ J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 177, evidence of Mandhlakazi.

The clan to which Malandela (the father of Qwabe) and Qwabe himself belonged is no longer known. But it is difficult to believe that the ancient clan has entirely disappeared or the ancient clan name has fallen into absolute extinction. In as much as the word ‘Gumede’ is still retained as the *isithakazelo* among the whole group of Qwabe clans, it may be possible that was the name of the original clan, which designation, upon the splitting up of the family into the Qwabe and the Zulu branches, was appropriated by the higher house (sic) as its particular name or address, or again the Ntombela, still existing as a distinct clan may have been that from which both the Qwabe and the Zulu took their rise, since an intimate connection with those people, and yet, strangely among the Qwabe we hear nothing of such a connection, just as conversely among the *amaZulu* we hear little if anything of a claim to any use of the title Gumede.²⁸²

Correspondingly, Stuart attempted to directly link the Qwabe lineages to Malandela. In response to that, James Stuart said:

Malandela himself was of the *amaNgadi* and *amaCineka* chiefdoms, which were in actual them... hence it is probably that Malandela was himself a member of the *amaNgadi* or *amaCineka*, especially as the name of his own is always absent or wanting in ordinary conversation.²⁸³

When one looks at the tradition of a common Qwabe – Zulu origin in Malandela from the Zulu point of view in the traditions. One will find a similar absence of corroborative data, and a similar pattern of gaps between the tradition of Malandela and later Zulu history as characterising the traditions of the Qwabe people. It must be indicated that even the clans which claim to be related to the Zulu, or to have originated with the Zulu, do not claim any connection with the Qwabe, nor are there elements in their testimonies concerning their genesis which echo anything in the various Qwabe tales. It should be noted at the same time that the connection between the Zulu and the Qwabe was widely acknowledged by Zulu informants.²⁸⁴

The story of a common origin for the Zulu and Qwabe people in the person of a common ancestor, Malandela seems unlikely to represent literal historical truth for several reasons. The story of Malandela’s travels and the associated historical details lend no strength or conviction

²⁸² A.T. Bryant: A History of the Zulu and neighbouring tribes, p. 132.

²⁸³ J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 224, in the testimony of Mkothana.

²⁸⁴ A.T. Bryant, Olden Times in Zululand and Natal, pp. 25-29.

to the tale. Later, Qwabe history can only be linked to the genesis tales with difficulty, and with major problems where chiefly genealogies were concerned.²⁸⁵ Finally, there is no information from the histories of individual lineages to confirm the story and there is much which is implicitly contradictory.

If the origins of the tale are thus taken not to represent literal historical events, the main question is raised as to what the tradition owes its existence. Its main purpose was to suggest that Qwabe and Zulu were related. Other historical sources have claimed that Malandela had a third son, Mchunu, from whom sprang the Chunu people, another clan claiming genealogical connection with the Zulu.²⁸⁶ Similarly, it was claimed by the Khanyile that they too were descendants of the offspring of Malandela.²⁸⁷ There seems to be even less substance to these claims than the Qwabe assertions, and no corroboration from a wider set of historical sources.²⁸⁸

On the off chance that does not appear to be too incredible a jump to propose that these cases, ailing in chronicled resonances as they seem to be, radiated from when the Zulu group first endeavour the assimilation of various clans and the making of a solitary country under Zulu authority. On the off chance that the recommendation that the connection between the Qwabe and the Zulu through the individual of Malandela was a result of the Shakan period is to be loaned substance, it is important to represent how and why Qwabe fuse requested to be acknowledged in that specific structure. To do that, the next section examines closely the form of incorporation experienced by the Qwabe.

3.4. ZULU CONQUEST AND QWABE RESISTANCE

The incorporation of the Qwabe chiefdom into Zulu occurred slightly earlier in Emperor Shaka's reign.²⁸⁹ At the time Emperor Shaka ascends to the Zulu throne, the Qwabe were next to the Ndwandwe chiefdom, the most powerful polity in southeast Africa. The Qwabe chiefdom was threatened by external forces, but perhaps more serious were internal problems, originating mainly in disputes regarding chiefly succession, which was further aggravated by the colonial

²⁸⁵ C.A. Hamilton: 'Ideology, Oral Traditions and the Struggle for Power in the Early Zulu Kingdom' (MA thesis, University of the Witwatersrand), pp. 170-171.

²⁸⁶ J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 84, evidence of Magidigidi.

²⁸⁷ J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 265, evidence of Mmemi.

²⁸⁸ J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 26, evidence of Mbovu.

²⁸⁹ M.R. Mahoney: 'Between the Zulu King and the Great White Chief: Political Culture in a Natal Chiefdom, 1879-1906', (Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1998), esp. Chs. 1 and 3.

government's intervention in the succession dispute.²⁹⁰ The Qwabe like other chiefdoms was scattered across various areas.²⁹¹

From the onset of his reign, Emperor Shaka was clear about what he wanted. He developed a clear and concise vision about expanding his domains north and south of the Thukela River. The fact that the dispute between Zulu and Qwabe filtered down the generations was seen during the reign of Qwabe *inkosi*, Phakathwayo who had a dispute with the Zulu king. The nature of the dispute between the Zulu and the Qwabe *amakhosi* was that Zulu, the founder of the Zulu clan, was the junior brother of Qwabe, the founder of the Qwabe clan. At this stage the Qwabe *inkosi* was reluctant to recognize the superiority of the Zulu king, he claimed that he is superior by birth.²⁹²

The *abaQwabe* occupied a small territory some twenty kilometres south of the present-day Melmoth. Although evidence for precise distribution is insubstantial, they would seem to have controlled some 400 km² of land, centred on the middle valley of the Mhlathuze River.²⁹³ By 1750, the picture was very different, for the Qwabe *inkosi*, Lufata, now presided over 3,000 km² of land, stretching from the middle Mhlathuze to the sea, and from the estuary of this river southwards to the Thukela River. The process of centralization of power caused the displacement of several smaller incumbent chiefdoms, such as the *abasemaNgangeni*, the *abakwaCele* and the *abakwaLuthuli*.²⁹⁴ This would seem to have been more than the replacement of existing rulers by Qwabe nominees, or the development of a tributary relationship between politically dominant and subordinate groups. For Bryant, records that the displaced *amakhosi* moved south of the Thukela River with their people, where their domains were reestablished.²⁹⁵

²⁹⁰ M.M. Hadebe: A contextualization and examination of the impi yamakhanda (1906 uprising) as reported by J. L. Dube in *Ilanga Lase Natal*, with special focus on Dube's attitude to Dinuzulu as indicated in his reportage on the treason trial of Dinuzulu (MA Dissertation, University of Natal, 2003), p. 39.

²⁹¹ M.R. Mahoney: 'Between the Zulu King and the Great White Chief: Political Culture in a Natal Chiefdom, 1879-1906', (Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1998), esp. Chs. 1 and 3.

²⁹² M. Fortes and E.E. Evans-Pritchard: *African Political Systems*, p. 36.

²⁹³ A.T. Bryant: *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal*, p. 537.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 499, 537 and 545.

²⁹⁵ B. Sansom: "Traditional Economic Systems" and "Traditional Rulers and their Realms", in W. D. Hammond-Tooke (ed.): *The Bantu-Speaking Peoples of Southern Africa*, pp. 150-151.

Many have seen the accession of Shaka to the Zulu throne as the period of conquest and mass migration in Southeast Africa. For instance, Bryant²⁹⁶ argues that the assuming of Shaka to the Zulu throne initiated a period of general and continuous conquest and raiding all around. Shaka was required to build a mighty power that will be able to defeat the powerful kingdoms. The period of Shaka's reign made even the poor man an opportunity to own a cow or two. Zululand being a good pasture country the cattle increased rapidly in numbers. At the time Shaka assumed the Zulu throne, there were other powerful kingdoms in Southeast Africa. The powerful kingdoms posed a threat to Shaka's growing power. This meant that his reign was never secure and maintaining the Zulu state's boundaries required him to further his military campaigns. As a result, he began the idea of conquering surrounding chiefdoms himself, adding their forces to his own and building up a new kingdom.

When Shaka had established himself as the emperor of the Zulu state, King Dingiswayo of the Mthethwa became involved in an encounter with the Ndwandwe.²⁹⁷ What is of significance with this encounter is that it was planned that the Mthethwa and the Zulu state would join forces against the Ndwandwe of King Zwide. However, it did not work out as planned because King Dingiswayo allowed his army to move before the Zulu army had a chance to share with them the plan of the attack. The Ndwandwe defeated and King Dingiswayo was captured and assassinated. When King Zwide of the Ndwandwe attacked, captured and killed King Dingiswayo near King Zwide's *kwaDlovunga* palace (few kilometres east of the present-day Nongoma),²⁹⁸ Shaka tactically held his forces in reserve. He then began to build an army with strong discipline and fighting capacity.

Fuze argues that when Shaka received the news about the death of King Dingiswayo, he got angry and began to marshal the Zulu and the Mthethwa and the Hlubi people to arm against King Zwide of Ndwandwe.²⁹⁹ This led to many of King Dingiswayo's supporters joining the Zulu. The death of King Dingiswayo meant that Shaka was left alone as a result he was to plan his campaigns alone. The incorporation Shaka made after the assassination of King Dingiswayo made the Zulu army strengthen its position and to continue to advance against King Zwide. The first encounter between the Zulu and Ndwandwe became known as the first Ndwandwe

²⁹⁶ A.T. Bryant: *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal*, p. 416.

²⁹⁷ G.A. Chadwick: *Research on historical places of importance to KwaZulu and the formulation recommendations*, p.25.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁹ M.M. Fuze: *The Black People and Whence They Came: A Zulu View*, p. 47.

campaign.³⁰⁰ This campaign contributed to the growing and development of the Zulu state because this campaign made Shaka begin to incorporate the conquered chiefdoms. This made his state to grow rapidly as he incorporated the defeated warriors into his regiments.

The first Ndwandwe campaign made Shaka realized that there was a need to increase the number of his army so that they would be able to outmatch the Ndwandwe of King Zwile in the second Ndwandwe campaign. Shaka succeeded in making possible allies to expand his domains but the Qwabe chiefdom remained hostile. This is to say in the long run, the Qwabe chiefdom resisted being incorporated by Shaka. The conquest of the Qwabe chiefdom quickly became an issue of necessity rather than a choice for the new Zulu king. Emperor Shaka turned against the Qwabe in a pretext that they did not support him during the first Ndwandwe campaign.³⁰¹

Several historical sources have argued that at first Shaka had appealed for support to Inkosi Phakathwayo during the first Ndwandwe campaign. These sources claim that Emperor Shaka said '*Ngiphakamisele ikhwapha ngingene*' (give me shelter in your armpit).³⁰² These sources say Shaka further requested from Inkosi Phakathwayo grain for the hard-pressed Zulu.³⁰³ During the campaign, it appears that in all requests, Inkosi Phakathwayo was reluctant to help instead he encountered by saying that the *amaZulu* should tender tribute to him in the form of cattle and beads.³⁰⁴

The idea that Inkosi Phakathwayo decided to keep the *amaZulu* under him is demonstrated by the custom of origin that suggested that the *amaQwabe* intended to retain the *amaZulu* as a shield between themselves and the Ndwandwe.³⁰⁵ This happened although Zulu actions seemed to have been shaped by the need to remove themselves from the Ndwandwe border, to argument their small fighting force, to secure for themselves strategic retreats, such as the Nkandla forest and to acquire grain, both for consumption and as seed for the following planting season. The

³⁰⁰ G.A. Chadwick: Research on historical places of importance to KwaZulu and the formulation of recommendations, p.26.

³⁰¹ J.E. Flint (ed.): The Cambridge History of Africa, vol. 5, p. 329.

³⁰² A.T. Bryant: Olden Times in Zululand and Natal, p. 192.

³⁰³ J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 182, evidence of Jantshi; A.T. Bryant: A History of the Zulu and Neighbouring Tribes, p. 136.

³⁰⁴ H.F. Fynn: The Diary of Henry Francis Fynn, p. 16; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 177, evidence of Mandlakazi.

³⁰⁵ C.A. Hamilton: 'Ideology, Oral Traditions and the Struggle for Power in the Early Zulu Kingdom' (MA thesis, University of the Witwatersrand), p. 173.

area occupied by the Qwabe chiefdom was conducive for production.³⁰⁶ The cropping was possible in the lowlands because of broad river valleys. The upland areas where *amaZulu* resided was not favourable for agriculture.

Shaka's Qwabe intelligence had the appearance of being reliable, for sustained Qwabe civil conflict led to the flight of several senior Qwabe protestors, like Zulu *kaNogandaya* and Nqetho *kaKhondlo* to the Zulu court. The affected Qwabe people within the Qwabe polity were mobilized by Shaka and put to work in Zulu interests. Shaka gambled that a surprise attack, followed by the rapid submission of prominent Qwabe sympathetic to the Zulu cause, would earn him sufficient opportunity to root out resisters and to entrench his rule.³⁰⁷ On his *en route* to establishing his authority among the Qwabe territory, Shaka decided to build his kraal on the border of the Qwabe chiefdom. As a result, *uMbelebele* kraal was built on the very edge of the northern border of the Qwabe chiefdom, abutting the recalcitrant Khumalo people, and until their defeat, in 1826 acted as a watch-post against the Ndwandwe.³⁰⁸

It must be pointed that at this time Shaka avoided any engagement with the Qwabe until forces had recouped some of their strength after the last Ndwandwe engagement. Historical sources assert that when the Zulu army travelled over the Mthonjaneni, down the ridge into Mandawe Hill.³⁰⁹ As a result of this move by the Zulu, Inkosi Phakathwayo saw this as an attack and decided to send women and children of the Qwabe chiefdom to Dlinza Forest for safety.³¹⁰ Inkosi Phakathwayo saw this as an attack and they as the Qwabe had to stop this move which was advancing towards them.

The Qwabe were attacked and incorporated by the Zulu. The subordination of the *abaQwabe* chiefdom under Inkosi Phakathwayo became Shaka's next goal and according to oral tradition, he achieved their involuntary conquest with virtually no fighting.³¹¹ The Qwabe were unarmed when they were surrounded by Shaka's warriors and did not attempt any further resistance after Inkosi Phakathwayo was immediately captured. Most oral traditions have posited that Inkosi

³⁰⁶ C. A. Hamilton: *Traditions of Origin and the Ideological Appropriation of the Past in the Zulu Kingdom under Shaka*, p.5.

³⁰⁷ J.S.A., Vol. 3, pp. 240, 247, 260, evidence of Mmemi kaNguluzane.

³⁰⁸ C. Hamilton: 'Restructuring within the Zulu royal house', *African Studies*, 56:2, p. 96.

³⁰⁹ G.A. Chadwick: *Research on historical places of importance to KwaZulu and the formulation of recommendations*, p.16.

³¹⁰ G.A. Chadwick: *Research on Historical Places of Importance to Kwa-Zulu and the Formulation of Recommendations*, p. 516.

³¹¹ J.S.A. Vol. 5, p. 54, evidence of Ngidi kaMcikaziswa.

Phakathwayo was not killed by Shaka or any of his warriors but he only died the following day 'of fear' while he was in the custody of Shaka in his village.³¹² Bryant says that Inkosi Phakathwayo was captured and the Qwabe were defeated at the Hlokohloko ridge near eShowe.

King Dingiswayo had sent a present of some of the beads he had received from Delagoa Bay to Inkosi Phakathwayo of the Qwabe chiefdom. Inkosi Phakathwayo, however, immediately returned them, saying they had been bewitched by Shaka, who wanted to put him to death. This accusation immediate hostilities between Shaka and Inkosi Phakathwayo. He attacked Inkosi Phakathwayo in two different directions. Inkosi Phakathwayo, on being closely pursued, fell dead from fright, whilst his chiefdom, after a short conflict, fled to the Entumeni forest nearby.

On the news of Inkosi Phakathwayo's death being reported to Shaka, he was very sorry for what had happened.³¹³ He sent two oxen as an offering to his (Inkosi Phakathwayo's) family spirits. He assured the Qwabe chiefdom of his regret, adding that his intention in coming at all was merely to demand an apology for how Inkosi Phakathwayo had insulted him. Inkosi Phakathwayo had no heir, and his brother Nqetho was too young, they had better put themselves under Shaka's protection. This they agreed to do which considerably increased the size of Shaka's army, making it quite formidable.³¹⁴

This meant that the Qwabe had to succumb and be absorbed into the ever-growing Zulu nation. The occupation of the Qwabe territory contributed to the enlargement of the Zulu territories or boundaries.³¹⁵ The Qwabe army was then defeated in a battle at the Hlokohloko ridge, near present-day Eshowe, where leaderless and stunned, they tendered their allegiance to the Zulu inkosi, and surrendered up their cattle. Those who would not support fled south amongst the Cele or north to join Zwide.³¹⁶ When Inkosi Phakathwayo died and his cattle were seized. After the death of Inkosi Phakathwayo, some members of the Qwabe went to pay allegiance to Shaka and some went to pay allegiance to the Mthethwa and some went to pay allegiance to King Zwide of the Ndwandwe, but some returned to pay allegiance to Inkosi uShaka thereafter.³¹⁷

³¹² J.S.A. Vol. 3, pp. 241-242, Mmemi kaNguluzane.

³¹³ J. Stuart and D. McK. Malcolm (eds.): The Diary of Henry Francis Fynn, p. 17.

³¹⁴ Ibid.

³¹⁵ A.T. Bryant: A History of Zulu and Neighbouring Tribes, p. 61.

³¹⁶ J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 242, evidence of Mmemi kaNguluzane; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 194, evidence of Dinya

³¹⁷ J.S.A. Vol. 3, p. 36, evidence of Mbovu kaMshumayeli.

After the defeat of Inkosi Phakathwayo, Shaka sent his regiments south of the Thukela River to attack the *abaQwabe* living south of the river and the *amaCele* inkosi Magaye. They voluntarily became a tributary subordinate ally to Shaka by giving him his allegiance and offering no resistance to the *amaZulu* extension of authority into the modern Natal.³¹⁸ Shaka intervened in an existing succession dispute to help his own choice, Nqetho, into power. Nqetho was Inkosi Phakathwayo's brother and a loyal follower of Shaka.³¹⁹ Thereby installing Nqetho as inkosi of the Qwabe, Shaka began the process of which was to characterize the Zulu rule throughout the territory and to intervene in local successions to the Zulu advantage.

Several historical sources have pointed out that although some of the Qwabe subordinates went to become the subjects of the Mthethwa, most of them after the installation of Inkosi Nqetho as the leader of the Qwabe became Shaka's subjects.³²⁰ After the installation of his loyal supporters in positions, Shaka's policy was to assimilate the Qwabe into the Zulu state. He did not destroy the Qwabe chiefdom but the Qwabe were drawn into all the Zulu institutions, the army, the *izigodlo* and the great Zulu establishments like Bulawayo.³²¹ Qwabe men were incorporated into Zulu *amabutho*. Those who had already been crowned with head-rings were not required to cut off their heard-rings if they were married. Even if they were married they were required to undergo complete resocialisation and retraining the Zulu way of life. This was done to make them absorb the military ideology of the Zulu *amakhanda* and to participate in events emphasizing Zulu ideology.³²²

The ruling Qwabe lineage, for example, began re-inventing their genealogies to give the impression that Qwabe and Zulu were closely related in the past. In this way, a greater sense of cohesion was created, though it never became complete, as subsequent civil wars attest. Shaka was faced with an urgent need to strengthen his empire. This was to be achieved primarily through strategic local expansion and the close assimilation of neighbouring chiefdoms. Despite establishing his capital of *kwaBulawayo* in the Qwabe territory, Shaka cleverly also distributed his family and loyal wide and far.³²³ These people supervised the

³¹⁸ Maquza kaGawushane in JSA vol. 2, pp. 236-237.

³¹⁹ E.A. Eldredge: *The Creation of the Zulu Kingdom, 1815-1828*, p. 109.

³²⁰ E.A. Eldredge: *Kingdoms and Chiefdoms of Southeastern Africa: Oral Traditions and History, 1400-1830*, p. 197.

³²¹ C.A. Hamilton: *Traditions of Origin and the Ideological Appropriation of the Past in the Zulu Kingdom under Shaka*, p. 6.

³²² Ibid.

³²³ P.A. Kennedy: 'Mpande and the Zulu Kingship', *Journal of Natal and Zulu History*, IV, 1981, p. 26.

cattle, became emissaries of the central authority. What was more important is that these erstwhile supporters of the central authority had the means to assert their independence. This was not separate to Inkosi Nqetho of the Qwabe who was bestowed great public status and allowed many privileges. Shaka also got most loyalty from Mbokazi kaNxumalo, Khuzwayo and one of Inkosi Phakathwayo's *izinduna*.³²⁴

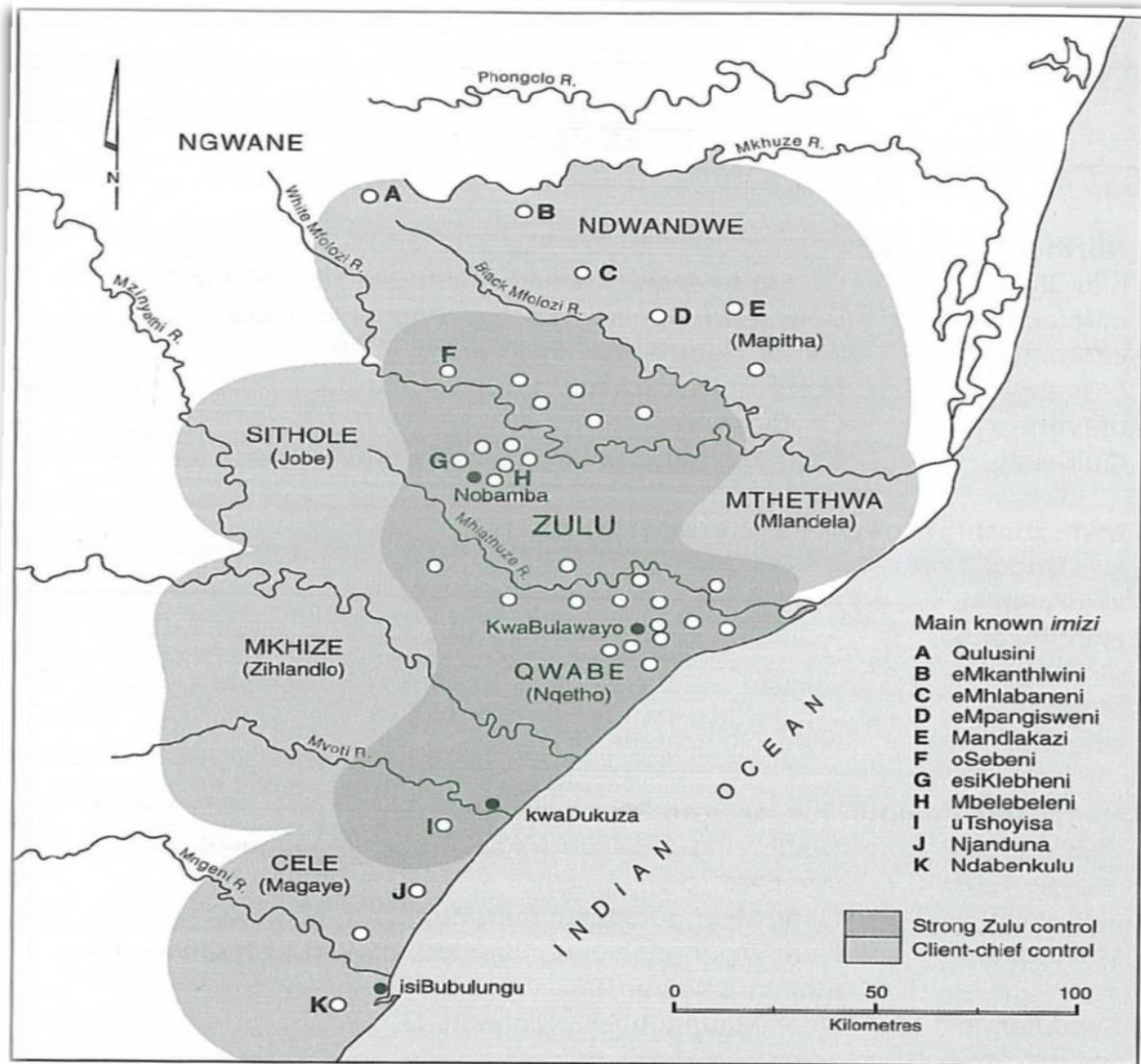


Figure 2: The Zulu State and some of amakhanda built during the reign of Emperor Shaka Zulu. This map is showing the controlled territory of the Zulu paramountcy and the location of the capital, kwaBulawayo in the Qwabe land.³²⁵

³²⁴ J.S.A., Vol. 3, pp. 240, 242, 247, evidence of Mmemi.

³²⁵ D. Wylie: Myth of iron: Shaka in history, p. 264.

The precise sequence in which the Zulu extended their control over a wider range of their neighbours was the enrollment of young boys. Shaka was a strategist who did not only use force to expand his domains. When he assumed the Zulu throne he made friends and followers among the Qwabe and the people who had been his friends and followers played a crucial role in his later conquest of the Qwabe chiefdoms. The most famous of the Zulu emperor's adherents recruited from the lines of the Qwabe was the hero, Khomfiya (Zulu) *kaNogandaya*. Khomfiya *kaNogandaya kaLujabu kaManxeba kaMnsunsula kaDubula kaNcwana* Sishi was a great warrior under Shaka *kaSenzangakhona* Zulu between 1818 and 1828. He also distinguished himself during the reigns of the king (s) Dingane (1828-1840) and Mpande (1840-1872).³²⁶ His real names were Khomfiya and Sidleni.³²⁷

Khomfiya was born at eMabululwini, (the place of puffaders), a place located at the banks of Mhlathuze River, south of Ongoye Mountain where Nogandaya's grave is. After his father's death, he left his place of birth and proceeded south to build his *umuzi* on the Ngquzu Hill.³²⁸ Khomfiya's name conjures up an image of a larger life personality, world changer and miracle worker. When one examines his accomplishments one feels enfeeble and small and he lived during the times of the great Zulu potentates (Shaka, Dingane and Mpande). Nogandaya, his father, was the head of the Ncwana section of the Qwabe chiefdom. He settled at Emabululwini above uNgoye (a range of hills to the east of the present-day eShowe).³²⁹ Nogandaya's heir was Voti, but, owing to his brevity, Khomfiya got precedence and accumulated property.³³⁰ At the time the Qwabe were headed by inkosi Nomo *kaKhondlo*.

Khomfiya was born among the Qwabe, he first met Emperor Shaka when Shaka was visiting his maternal uncle in the Qwabe country.³³¹ This source continues to argue that when Shaka became the king of the *amaZulu*, Khomfiya decided to go and give his allegiance to Shaka with his brothers.³³² Hamilton evidence indicates that Khomfiya *kaNogandaya* fled his home in the Qwabe to Emperor Shaka because inkosi Nomo wanted to kill him. Carolyn Hamilton accounts

³²⁶ M.Z. Shamase: "Unsung Zulu Heroes" a paper presented at the Zululand History Society Lower Mfolozi TLC, NPA Boardroom, eMpangeni, 14 April 1999, p. 2.

³²⁷ Ibid.

³²⁸ S.J. Nzimande: Cultural and Historical Tourism as core for Local Economic Development at eNdongakusuka Municipality (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Zululand), p. 54.

³²⁹ M.Z. Shamase: "Unsung Zulu Heroes" a paper presented at the Zululand History Society Lower Mfolozi TLC, NPA Boardroom, eMpangeni, 14 April 1999.

³³⁰ J.S.A., Vol. 3, pp. 212- 13, evidence of Mkehlengana

³³¹ J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 101, evidence of Dinya kaZokozwayo.

³³² J.S.A., Vol. 2, pp. 179-225, evidence of Mandlakazi kaNgini.

that Khomfiya left the Qwabe country with several others after incurring the wrath of the *inkosi*. It was claimed that whilst in the company of some young men he had illegally consorted with the women of the *isogodlo* on a mountain top.³³³ Another evidence has indicated that Khomfiya kaNogandaya and his half-brothers Nombexa, Nomfihlela and Bhixa approached the princesses and other girls from the *isigodlo*.³³⁴ This occurred when Inkosi Nomo and his council were seated below the hill. The princesses had gone up the hill to strip *ubendle* plants (to make up into girdles for girls). Council-member spotted Khomfiya and his half-brother courting the princesses. The act was not allowed and culprits were punished by death. Khomfiya left the Qwabe to pay homage to Emperor Shaka Zulu.³³⁵ The Qwabe country was Emperor Shaka's maternal uncle's place.

The traditions suggest that their act of courting the princesses was, in fact, political, for violation of women of a harem was a frequent motif throughout the traditions and the harems were the heart of a chiefship. The implication of this was that it was the chiefship that was violated. This impression is borne out of a statement that indicates that the Ncwana also challenged the dominance of the Qwabe ruling lineage. The traditions also played great attention to the circumstances of their reception from Emperor Shaka and the details of their submission.

Historical evidence has indicated that Khomfiya kaNogandaya arrived in Zululand shortly after Shaka had taken his reign in the Zulu throne.³³⁶ In the evidence that he provided to Stuart, Mandlakazi related that when they arrived to pay allegiance at Bulawayo royal residence (Emperor Shaka's palace), Khomfiya requested that a procedure be followed by Emperor Shaka's *izinduna*. As a result, he requested Shaka's *izinduna* to report their arrival to Shaka as it was a tradition to report new people in the land to the emperor. The *izinduna* did so, saying,

Here is Khomfiya kaNogandaya. Emperor Shaka questioned he said Khomfiya kaNogandaya? The *izinduna* replied yes. Shaka ordered them to get him some food which was done. The next day where he met Shaka. Shaka said so it is you Khomfiya. Khomfiya replied yes, Ndabezitha I have come to pay allegiance to you. You have come to pay allegiance? Khomfiya said

³³³ C.A. Hamilton: Ideology, oral traditions and the struggle for power in the early Zulu kingdom, p. 176.

³³⁴ M.Z. Shamase: "Unsung Zulu Heroes" a paper presented at the Zululand History Society Lower Mfolozi TLC, NPA Boardroom, eMpangeni, 14 April 1999, p. 2.

³³⁵ Ibid.

³³⁶ J. Iliffe: Honour in African History, p. 140.

Yes Ndabezitha. Who are the others? Khomfiya named them, Sithunga and his half-brother Magutshwa.³³⁷

Shaka accepted them, and in drawing Khomfiya and his associates, Shaka said to him, ‘You will be a close friend, for you are one of our people we originated together with you. We are *amaNtungwa* together with you.’³³⁸ Because Shaka wanted people who join the Zulu clan to undergo significant socialisation, training the Zulu way and to take up the military ideology of the Zulu *amakhanda*. This was the reason Khomfiya and the other Qwabe who had paid allegiance to Shaka were sent to reside with some close allies of the Zulu, the Lembe section of the Ntuli people, under Shoba. Shaka began to use them for exploration of the Qwabe chiefdom country.³³⁹

At first, Khomfiya became a servant responsible for smearing Shaka’s palace floor with cow dung. He subsequently remained a servant. In 1817, Shaka slaughtered a hundred cattle. All Zulu warriors were summoned and Shaka formed them into the Mgumanqa regiment to be commanded by Khomfiya *kaNogandaya*.³⁴⁰ In early March 1818, Shaka assembled all warriors at Mbelebeleni to discuss military affairs. In the progression of the discussion, Khomfiya *kaNogandaya* said, “Nkosi, if three of your great warriors kill before I do, if I kill only after they do, you may kill me.”³⁴¹ Emperor Shaka was pleased to hear those words and responded, “Nhi! So you have matched me Khomfiya!”³⁴² He told his attendant to go to one of the storage huts and fetch a shield, a single assegai, and a headband, all of which were given to Khomfiya. As time passes, Shaka built for him the homestead called *eNtshaseni* in the foothills of Ndongakusuka, north of the Thukela River.³⁴³

In all respect, Khomfiya demonstrated that he was Shaka’s main man and that his loyalties were not divided. He was ordered by Shaka to attack his Qwabe chiefdom. The traditions relate to how Emperor Shaka tested Khomfiya by ordering him to attack the Qwabe people. In his

³³⁷ J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 175, evidence of Mandlakazi.

³³⁸ J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 214, evidence of Mkehlengana.

³³⁹ J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 226, evidence of Mkotana.

³⁴⁰ M.Z. Shamase: “Unsung Zulu Heroes” a paper presented at the Zululand History Society Lower Mfolozi TLC, NPA Boardroom, eMpangeni, 14 April 1999, pp. 3-4.

³⁴¹ Ibid.

³⁴² Ibid., p. 3.

³⁴³ J.S.A., Vol. 2, p.180, J.S.A. Vol. 3, p. 329.

evidence of how Shaka ordered Khomfiya to attack the Qwabe, Mandlakazi recounts that Shaka said,

... Are you prepared to go among your people, the Qwabe and kill? Zulu replied, 'Ndabezitha, I am. Shaka ordered him to attack and bring back the cattle. He went off with Sithunga *kaMkhonjwa* Qwabe, the two of them. While they were on the way, Zulu said to Sithunga, 'I shall stab the people, in each house, while you block off the doorway.' Zulu started at the end house. As a person came out he stabbed him, passed on to another house, stabbed another person and passed on. They did this with the whole *umuzi*. All the people fled from their homes. The two men opened up the cattle enclosure and drove off the cattle. The *umuzi* where they stabbed the people was a large one. They drove off the cattle and brought them to Shaka who apportioned some to go to Ntshaseni while keeping the rest himself. It caused great administration that only two men had captured so many cattle.³⁴⁴

Khomfiya and Sithunga *kaMkhonjwa* were sent to attack the Qwabe chiefdom and they defeated the Qwabe chiefdom and seized their cattle without much difficulty.³⁴⁵ They drove off and brought them to Shaka, who allocated some to go to Ntshaseni, Khomfiya (Zulu *kaNogandaya*'s) homestead while keeping the rest himself.³⁴⁶ For Khomfiya this was a good sign to pay loyalty to the Shaka. This also caused great admiration that only two men had captured so many cattle and brought them to Shaka Zulu. It must also be emphasised that their attack of the Qwabe chiefdom helped bolster Zulu hegemony over the Qwabe by showing how a man could transfer their allegiance from the Qwabe *inkosi* to the Zulu *inkosi* and profit by doing so.³⁴⁷

It is important to state that when Shaka was in the process of forming a Zulu state, he used his trusted warriors like Khomfiya. There were many battles fought by Khomfiya under *iLembe*, where one can mention the campaign against the Mbatha in Mhlahlane, where Khomfiya stabbed and killed almost all of Nkomo's men. All the people fled their homes. In this war, the

³⁴⁴ J.S.A. vol. 2, p. 180, evidence of Mandlakazi.

³⁴⁵ M.Z. Shamase: "Unsung Zulu Heroes" a paper presented at the Zululand History Society Lower Mfolozi TLC, NPA Boardroom, eMpangeni, 14 April 1999, p. 3.

³⁴⁶ J.S.A. vol. 2, p. 180, evidence of Mandlakazi.

³⁴⁷ Ibid.

Mbatha cattle were seized.³⁴⁸ He fought in the Zulu war with *amaChunu kaMacingwane*. Macingwane used to fight with Inkosi Senzangakhona and his people, however, the fighting involved the burning of one's kraal.³⁴⁹

After Shaka had established a strong and powerful army, he embarked on a campaign against Macingwane Mchunu. Historical evidence has indicated that Macingwane became one of the early victims of Shaka's military campaigns.³⁵⁰ In his historical account, Magma Fuze has argued that Macingwane was also a conqueror who had conquered other clans. He continues to posit that it was after Shaka's appearance that made Macingwane's power to decline.³⁵¹ Webb and Wright in their account have pointed out that Macingwane was the first one to flee into Natal to where Pietermaritzburg is now after he encountered Shaka's mighty army.³⁵²

When Macingwane arrived in Pietermaritzburg, he attacked a girl called Machibise. This was part of his strategy to capture Machibise's cattle. He met resistance and he had to give up the idea of capturing cattle and head to northward direction where he met Cinso, an officer of the Machibise clan. Macingwane killed this officer and seized his livestock.³⁵³ After this incident, Macingwane crossed the Mkhomazi River to the South where he attacked the *amaNtambo* people. He then took their land and kraal. He went to build his kraal at the hill called Gquni and established his regiment called Mungu.³⁵⁴

In the same year Shaka accompanied his army, because Macingwane knew that he could not stand against Shaka's army, he crossed the Mzimkhulu and established himself at eNsikeni forest.³⁵⁵ Although he had strategically placed his homestead on top of the mountain to see when his rivals were coming to attack him, Shaka was able to defeat the Chunu people of Macingwane. As a result of his failure to withstand Shaka's force, Macingwane fled to the Pondoland. Shaka took his cattle.³⁵⁶ Emperor Shaka managed to bring down the chieftdom of Macingwane and incorporated his people into Zulu.

³⁴⁸ M.Z. Shamase: "Unsung Zulu Heroes" a paper presented at the Zululand History Society Lower Mfolozi TLC, NPA Boardroom, eMpangeni, 14 April 1999, p. 3.

³⁴⁹ C. de B. Webb and J.B. Wright (eds.): The James Stuart Archive, Vol. 4, p. 23.

³⁵⁰ Ibid.

³⁵¹ M.M. Fuze: The Black People and Whence They Came, pp. 51-52.

³⁵² C. de B Webb and J.B. Wright (eds): The James Stuart Archive, vol. 4, p. 23.

³⁵³ Ibid, p. 24.

³⁵⁴ Ibid.

³⁵⁵ A.B. Nkala: Shaka's military campaigns, p. 15.

³⁵⁶ C. de B Webb and J.B. Wright (eds.): The James Stuart Archive, vol. 4, p. 24.

Late in 1818, Khomfiya (Zulu *kaNogandaya*) led Shaka's regiments against the Ndwandwe of King Zwide *kaLanga*.³⁵⁷ The Ndwandwe appeared on the Nkandla heights and reached Nomveve place. It was Zulu *kaNogandaya* who led an attack at Nomveve. He unleashed Shaka's regiments and they defeated the Ndwandwe, driving them up into the Mhlathuze hills. After the battle, two sections of the Ndwandwe army broke away and fled into Southern Mozambique.³⁵⁸ Zulu *kaNogandaya* fought fiercely in the war in such a way that some cattle and Zulu's mat-bearer was told to take them to Ntshaseni.

Zulu *kaNogandaya* also distinguished himself in 1826 when Shaka and Sikhunyana fought at Zindololwane.³⁵⁹ Sikhunyana was defeated, caught and put to death. Zulu *kaNogandaya* strategized Shaka's attack on Mapholoba *kaMbhele* Nyuswa. The Nyuswa people were south of the Thukela River were defeated and their cattle were seized. The Nyuswa tried to resist but were defeated by a Zulu army sent against them.³⁶⁰ The wars that Shaka fought against the Bomvana under Gambushe, Mpondo of Faku and Cele under Mande *kaZibandlela* were masterminded by Zulu *kaNogandaya*. Early in 1827 Shaka fought and defeated Khondlo *kaMagalela* Mtshali and the Msane under Nxaba. After these all these victories, Shaka assembled all great warriors at eMbelebeni *ikhanda*.³⁶¹ Zulu *kaNogandaya* fought bravely in campaigns against the Mbatha, Chunu, Zungu, Ndwandwe and Mfeka for which he was generously rewarded with cattle and promotion.³⁶²

It is important to state that at this time Shaka's clan was becoming an empire and his becoming an emperor. The stories about Zulu *kaNogandaya* appeared to have been outstanding all through Zululand – Natal. Heroes' stories were exceedingly ordinary and were related with relish alongside the recitation of the commendations of the heroes. What is of importance in Zulu *kaNogandaya*'s life is how an individual could pay loyalty to the king in the control and administration of the expanding kingdom. Emperor Shaka named Khomfiya, Zulu *kaNogandaya*, in recognition of the deed that he fought for the Zulu nation.³⁶³

³⁵⁷ M.Z. Shamase: "Unsung Zulu Heroes" a paper presented at the Zululand History Society Lower Mfolozi TLC, NPA Boardroom, eMpangeni, 14 April 1999, p. 3.

³⁵⁸ Ibid.

³⁵⁹ J. Wright: The dynamics of power and conflict in the Thukela-Mzimkhulu Region in the late 18th and early 19th centuries: a critical reconstruction, p. 180-185

³⁶⁰ Ibid.

³⁶¹ M.Z. Shamase: "Unsung Zulu Heroes" a paper presented at the Zululand History Society Lower Mfolozi TLC, NPA Boardroom, eMpangeni, 14 April 1999, pp. 3-5.

³⁶² Ibid, p. 3.

³⁶³ J.L. Dohne A Zulu-Kaffir Dictionary, p 292.

The mentioned story of Zulu *kaNogandaya* raises an image of a larger life personality, world changer and miracle worker. When one examines his accomplishments one feels enfeebled and small. He was a great warrior who never shrunk back in the face of danger. His exploits entertain and utterly surprise anyone. Who can relate to a man with such courage? It does not seem odd, however, to find him in the shadow of others, especially in the shadow of the kings such as Shaka, Dingane and Mpande. People who dwell in the shadows of others tend to be forgotten. Zulu *kaNogandaya*'s story and other great warriors relate not only their military greatness but their stories also show the amount of loyalty people have had towards the Zulu monarchs. This has also indicated the strong military inflection of society. In particular, the story emphasised the act of paying allegiance which was the basis of the relationship between king and subjects.

With the aid of a dissident section of the Ndwandwe, the Qwabe were attacked and defeated and their young men to swell the Zulu forces.³⁶⁴ The *amaQwabe* had to succumb and had to be subjected and incorporated to *amaZulu*. This meant that the Qwabe were to be absorbed into an ever-growing Zulu state. The incorporation of the Qwabe territory did not only contribute immensely to the enlargement of the Zulu territory boundaries,³⁶⁵ but it also contributed immensely to the enlargement of the Zulu army as Qwabe men were incorporated as the Zulu army. Historical evidence has indicated that Emperor Shaka attacked the Qwabe because he wanted to increase the size of his army and to further extend his territory boundaries. However, Fuze has argued that Emperor Shaka conquered and assimilated the Qwabe because he was reacting to the provocative remarks that were uttered by Inkosi Phakathwayo.³⁶⁶ Webb and Wright concur with Fuze on the provocative remarks that were uttered by Inkosi Phakathwayo on the dance that Emperor Shaka had set between the Qwabe and the Zulu.³⁶⁷

One's eyes have been drawn by the fact that the Malandela story does not clash with the existing body of history, either of the Zulu or the Qwabe.³⁶⁸ The Qwabe were originally lowlands that split between Qwabe and Zulu occurred and the Qwabe lineage per se came into

³⁶⁴ J. D. Fage et al (eds.): The Cambridge History of Africa, Volume 5, p. 329.

³⁶⁵ A.T. Bryant: A History of the Zulu and Neighbouring Tribes, p. 61.

³⁶⁶ M.M. Fuze: The Black People and Whence They Came, p. 54.

³⁶⁷ C. de B Webb and J.B. Wright (eds.): The James Stuart Archive, vol. 3, p. 241.

³⁶⁸ C.A. Hamilton: Traditions of Origin and the Ideological Appropriation of the Past in the Zulu Kingdom under Shaka. Johannesburg: University of Witwatersrand, History Workshop, 1987, 43, p. 12.

existence. The Zulu were originally uplanders, claiming origin in the Babanango Mountains.³⁶⁹ The tale accounts for this, acknowledges that Malandela started from there, and it goes on to relate that Zulu later returned there after his quarrel with Qwabe. The story, in essence, simply predated other ideas about the past and could be credited without too much difficulty, for it was situated in the realm beyond the reach of historical challenge. But, the story claimed more than a common ancestry and a shared history for the Qwabe and Zulu.

The Qwabe story suggests that what we see happening in respect of Nguni and Ntungwa identities is an attempt, principally through the device of the Malandela tradition, to marry two identities, to unite the very different *abasezansi* or lowlanders, with the *abasenhla*, the uplanders, and using the remote past, to join their histories in the person of Malandela, and through him, Emperor Shaka. It was until Emperor Shaka that the two identities were merged and the Zulu became the Nguni and the term Ntungwa became less used. The first Zulu attempt to incorporate the Qwabe was through ethnic identity.

The Zulu claimed that the Qwabe were their brother and they were all *amaNtungwa*. However, this assertion was adopted and rejected by some who had claimed that the Qwabe were *abasezansi* by origin and they were Nguni, not *amaNtungwa*. Historical sources have indicated that Emperor Shaka responded by adopting the Nguni identity in addition to the Ntungwa identity which he had already claimed early. These sources have further posited that Emperor Shaka posited the union between the uplanders and lowlanders through the Malandela tradition. The reason Emperor Shaka adopted that they were Nguni than the Ntungwa was the fact that the word Ntungwa was used as patrilineal allegiance of the Khumalo of Mzilikazi. The use of the Ntungwa by the Zulu would have meant that they were accepting that they were under the domination of the Khumalo. Emperor Shaka opted to abandon the word Ntungwa and said they are the Nguni people.³⁷⁰

Although there was an attempt to link the Zulu and Qwabe people, the fact that Malandela's grave was never rediscovered has been more puzzling in the story of Malandela and the fact that all historical accounts have failed to recount Malandela's *izibongo*. The absence in the

³⁶⁹ C.A. Hamilton: Traditions of Origin and the Ideological Appropriation of the Past in the Zulu Kingdom under Shaka. Johannesburg: University of Witwatersrand, History Workshop, 1987, 43, p. 13.

³⁷⁰ C.A. Hamilton: Traditions of Origin and the Ideological Appropriation of the Past in the Zulu Kingdom under Shaka. Johannesburg: University of Witwatersrand, History Workshop, 1987, 43, pp. 19-20.

historical record of the gravesite suggests that perhaps Malandela was not invoked or worshipped in the same way as other Qwabe or Zulu chiefs.³⁷¹ It was also noted that Malandela was not praised after the function of other chiefs. Moreover, these same reservations applied to the figures Qwabe and Zulu as well.³⁷² These points suggest that the character attributed to Malandela, Qwabe and Zulu was in fact, not that of ancestors, but much closer to that of the 'Unkulunkulu' figure. The tradition about Malandela was used to suggest that Malandela was the one from whom a much wider group of people originated, even groups who, unlike the Qwabe, might not be able to trace a direct link to Malandela. This group seems to be those with whom the Zulu asserted a new, loose form of kinship in a non-specific way. viz., the *amaNtungwa*, the ones who, as Shaka said, Zulu, 'share a common origin'.

The *amaNtungwa* comprised numerous clans over and above the Zulu. The data on the status of Qwabe as *amaNtungwa* is particularly confusing. It was claimed in the traditions that the Qwabe were *amaNtungwa*, elsewhere that they were 'Nguni', and some instances that they were both. It was claimed that they originated with the 'abeSotho', and elsewhere that was not the case.³⁷³ However, Qwabe response to incorporation was not uniform. The informants whose families had gone over to the Zulu side in the 1820s readily subscribed to the *amaNtungwa* ethnic identity in their testimonies to James Stuart.³⁷⁴ In the testimonies of informants of lineages whose loyalties were less clear, or who had a history of active resistance to Emperor Shaka, the origins of Qwabe, and their ethnic character were contested. One form which this took was the assertion that the Qwabe were not *amaNtungwa*, but Nguni.³⁷⁵

It is important to note that there were lineages that claimed to be Nguni and some claimed to be Ntungwa. In every case, the identities appeared to be often confusing. Today the term Nguni is more familiar than the not often heard *amaNtungwa*, and widely used as a collective term for the peoples of Southeast Africa. The common use of the term in this way went unchallenged for a long period. What has been more confusing is that when Zulu *kaNogandaya* was received by Emperor Shaka he was received as a fellow *iNtungwa*.³⁷⁶ Another source claims that the

³⁷¹ C.A. Hamilton: 'Ideology, Oral Traditions and the Struggle for Power in the Early Zulu Kingdom' (MA thesis, University of the Witwatersrand), p. 166.

³⁷² J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 163, evidence of Hoyo.

³⁷³ J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 208, evidence of Kambi; J.S.A. Vol. 2, p.86; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 259, evidence of Mmemi.

³⁷⁴ J.S.A., Vol. 3, Evidence of Mkehlengana and Mkotana, p. 215.

³⁷⁵ M.M. Fuze: Black People and whence they Came, p. 1.

³⁷⁶ J.S.A., vol. 3, Evidence of Mkehlengana, Mkotana and Mmemi; J.S.A., p. 104.

Zulu clan had its genesis from the north of Mhlathuze River and were not originally part of the Nguni people. They were called *amaNtungwa* by the Qwabe clan because they remained in the north.³⁷⁷ The Zulu people used to arrive in the Qwabe clan with indungulu (*hyparrhenia hirta*) and ikhathazo (malaria preventative) medicines and say on arrival, “Ofe Mkozi”, speaking of themselves as *amaNtungwa*. The Khumalo, Zulu, Mbatha and *abakwaKhanyile* were all *amaNtungwa* while the Ndwandwe, Mthethwa, Qwabe and *amaChunu* were Nguni.³⁷⁸

Amongst the Zulu, a common historical origin was claimed by all the groups which had been assimilated by the Zulu in the earliest phase of expansion, that of *amaNtungwa*. It was their common identity as *amaNtungwa*, which provided the ideological basis of the social cohesion of a highly heterogeneous group. Thus, at the apex of Zulu society there emerged a high aristocracy made up of members who could demonstrate genealogical links with the Zulu royal line.³⁷⁹

3.5. CONCLUSION

The chapter has discussed the interpolation in the traditions of the Shakan era through the traditions of origin Qwabe chiefdom. It has also discussed how the Qwabe were assimilated into the growing Zulu state under Emperor Shaka. The chapter has also highlighted the contradiction found in the body of Qwabe traditions of origin. This is the case because some have been pointed out as being the effects of the pre-Shakan, Shakan and post-Shakan periods. These contradictions include the contradictions surrounding the Malandela story which appeared in most instances to be the product of the period of early Zulu expansion. This is because Malandela story linked the Zulu and the Qwabe in an ideologically powerful way which slotted in with the emergence of the *amaNtungwa* ethnic category, but which allowed for both the greater identification between the Zulu and Qwabe and for the existence of an enormous cultural, linguistic and historical difference between them.

The Qwabe incorporation into the Zulu state occurred in the early, assimilationist years of its growth. It was one of the largest political entities to be incorporated into the Zulu state and, in cultural, linguistic and historical terms, was markedly different from the Zulu ruling clan. The Qwabe incorporation into the growing Zulu state was thus especially significant in shaping the new social order and in establishing the parameters of assimilation at a time when Zulu overrule

³⁷⁷ M.Z. Shamase: *Zulu Potentates from the Earliest to Zwelithini kaBhekuzulu*, p. (v)

³⁷⁸ Ibid.

³⁷⁹ Ibid.

was far from well-established. Assimilation was achieved through the claim that Qwabe and Zulu descended in the very distant past from a common progenitor, Malandela.

It could be concluded that emperor Shaka's incorporation of the prominent Qwabe refugees such as Khomfiya, Nqetho and Nomo was of major significance to his later conquest and assimilation of the Qwabe chiefdom. The conquest of the Qwabe became the first major conquest of his reign. After incorporating the Qwabe men into his regiments, Emperor Shaka began to attack other chiefdoms to expand his domains. The following chapter looks at how Shaka assimilated the Mthethwa confederacy and its tributary clans.

CHAPTER FOUR

INCORPORATION OF THE MTHETHWA CONFEDERACY AND TRIBUTARY CLANS

4.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the incorporation of the Mthethwa confederacy and its tributary clans by emperor Shaka Zulu. The Mthethwa and their role in the state formation process in Southeast Africa have received attention from scholars. *AbakwaMthethwa* formed a very important component of the Zulu state as it is known today. Under their King Dingiswayo, they were the precursors in the implementation of the idea of a confederation of smaller clans under one supreme ruler or a king who become their overlord. Through this action, King Dingiswayo was one of the great leaders in southern Africa. It is of importance to consider the Mthethwa confederacy and their incorporation into Zulu because when King Dingiswayo died, emperor Shaka began to rally the Mthethwa and rapidly incorporated them into his growing Zulu state.

The history of the Southeast coastal region during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was categorised by warfare between the large chiefdoms like the Ngwane, Ndwandwe, and Mthethwa. The power of these chiefdoms shifted as they forcibly acquired land and incorporated others into their kingdoms, or were conquered and incorporated by other kingdoms. During these wars, some chiefdoms suffered annihilation, dispersion, fragmentation and incorporation.³⁸⁰ These chiefdoms were able to extend their power over vast areas of the region. Thus, these wars resulted in the collection of the chiefdoms into larger units – in particular the Ndwandwe, the Ngwane, the Hlubi and the Mthethwa.³⁸¹ In these cases, the dominant king ruled over subordinated chiefdoms under his direct control in a region extending over several thousand kilometres. It was during this period that the dominant chiefdoms emerged. This occurred when one *inkosi* was able to subordinate others, through conquest or through extending control over them.³⁸² These chiefdoms began a process of consolidation

³⁸⁰ J.J. Guy: 'The political structure of the Zulu Kingdom during the reign of Cetshwayo kaMpande', in Peires, J.B. (ed.), *Before and after Shaka: Papers in Nguni history*, p. 56.

³⁸¹ T.R.H. Davenport: *South Africa: A modern history*, Third edition, p. 16.

³⁸² J. Wright and C. Hamilton: 'Traditions and Transformations: The Phongolo-Mzimkhulu Region in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries', in A. Duminy and B. Guest (eds.), *Natal and Zululand from Earliest Times to 1910: A New History*, p. 59.

involving centralisation and expansion that resulted in the emergence of kingdoms in the last quarter of the eighteenth century.³⁸³

4.2. THE HISTORY OF THE MTHETHWA CONFEDERACY

The Mthethwa people also began to move further south at about the beginning of the 16th century.³⁸⁴ The Mthethwa departure from the Ubombo area was possible because of the wild animals and malaria as stated earlier on. Inkosi of the Mthethwa people at this time was Xaba. The Mthethwa people had to leave the area lying between Ubombo and the sea because of the problems stated earlier on. When they came further south under Inkosi Xaba in about 1720, they found divers Thonga people already in occupation of the land along the seafront where Sokhulu is today.³⁸⁵

The Mthethwa then occupied the land along the *uMfolozi* River. Inkosi by this time was Khayi *kaXaba kaMadangu*. Inkosi Khayi built his big *umuzi* on the confluence of the white *uMfolozi* and the Black *Mfolozi* Rivers. The name of Khayi's *umuzi* was Masangomabili (Two Gates).³⁸⁶ C. Mthethwa informs us that this *umuzi* was so big that part of the family fetched their drinking water from the White *Mfolozi* whilst the other from the Black *Mfolozi* Rivers. Along the way and over the years as the Mthethwa people migrated, new clan names were born. When they left the Ubombo area part of the Mthethwa people were not willing to go because they said they were still busy trapping *amaSeme* (kind of birds). A new clan name was born because those Mthethwa people who remained behind were henceforth known as the Seme people (*abakwaSeme*).³⁸⁷

As they moved southwards, just around the present-day Hluhluwe, another group remained behind picking up from the trees the fruit known as "*umncubu*". Yet another clan originated because from that time on that group of people who were left behind because of *umncubu* became known as the "Mncube" people. Over time this changed to the present day Mncube. The change in the last vowel was brought about for no apparent reason except the passage of time. The Seme and the Mncube people were not the only clan names that moved out of and are related to the Mthethwa people. The Cele people like *abakwaMthethwa* were the

³⁸³ J. Laband: *Rope of sand: The rise and fall of the Zulu Kingdom in the nineteenth century*, p. 513.

³⁸⁴ K. M. Kilfoil: *The Rise of the Zulu Empire: From: Kleio-Bulletin No.2. Vol. III, p. 9.*

³⁸⁵ C.N. Mthethwa: eNseleni, 06-05-1995.

³⁸⁶ A.M. Mthethwa: *The History of AbakwaMthethwa*, p. 11.

³⁸⁷ C.N. Mthethwa, eMbabe, 06-05-1995.

descendants of the same Nyambose.³⁸⁸ *AmaNganga* people (*abasemaNgangeni*), like the Cele people, were also members of the Mthethwa group of Tonga-Nguni.³⁸⁹

When the Mthethwa people finally settled in their present Mthethwaland that they occupy, they had several clans that were in one way or another related to them. Van Warmelo posited that though a clan be known for instance as the Mthethwa, there may be twenty, fifty or a hundred different clan names, represented within that polity.³⁹⁰ Of importance is that there was no great difference in the language spoken by the Mthethwa people. Their language could be easily understood by their fellow Nguni neighbours like *abaKwaZulu*, *abaKwaKhumalo*, *amaHlubi*, *abaseMbo*, etc.³⁹¹

The kingdom of Mthethwa named after Mthethwa came from Khubazi who gave birth to Nyambose, and Nyambose gave birth to Mthethwa/Mbekane, who the Mthethwa kingdom is named after him. He gave birth to Ndlovu/Ndunakazi, Ndlovu gave birth to Madango, Madango gave birth to Xaba, Xaba gave birth to Khayi, and Khayi gave birth to Jobe. Jobe gave birth to uShangana and also gave birth to Mbikwana who gave birth to Siwangu, who eventually became the head (induna) of eBaqulusini. The name was named because his mother was Shangaan. Jobe gave birth to Dingiswayo and Mawewe. The mother of Shangana was the first to be pregnant. This created animosity, and Khayi went to build Shangana a homestead named eNhlambini (this name was based on the insults that were based on his mother). This homestead was built at the east of White River. He gave birth to Mbiya that grew up with Emperor Shaka. He also gave birth to a son named Mlandela. At one house Madango gave birth to Cele who gave birth to Lugogo who gave birth to Ndosi who gave birth to Maganga, who gave birth to Nqumela who gave birth to Langa. So the relationship between Mthethwa and Cele comes about because they all come from the same progenitor who is Madango. The most famous among the ranks of the Mthethwa was King Dingiswayo.³⁹²

The great *isigodlo* of Inkosi Jobe *kwakuseBalungwini*. It was in this harem that Inkosi Jobe gave birth to Thana who was followed by Dingiswayo. When Dingiswayo was a young herd boy, Inkosi Jobe built another harem renamed and named it oYengweni. In the oYengweni

³⁸⁸ A.T. Bryant: *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal: containing earlier political history of the Eastern-Nguni clans*, p. 538.

³⁸⁹ *Ibid*, p. 545.

³⁹⁰ I. Schapera: *The Bantu-speaking Tribes of South Africa*, p. 49

³⁹¹ C. Cowley: *KwaZulu*, p. 33.

³⁹² Bayede Newspaper, 'Umlando wabakwaMthethwa kudabuka ezinye izizwe', 22 kuNhlangulana 2018

harem, Inkosi Jobe had many children as young men. Dingiswayo's mother was named Mabhamba her father, who was the Nzimase of Donda of Mbokazi.³⁹³ At the time when Inkosi Jobe built the oYengweni harem, Thana was living with his maternal family. Living in a different environment and growing up in his maternal family was the love of his father for inkosi Jobe because he loved him more than any of his children. However, more and more young men were born at oYengweni and many boys that were born at eBelungwini of their mothers other than wives were taken to oYengweni.³⁹⁴

At another point in time, when Inkosi Jobe's sons were getting older they met at oYengweni harem. The main aim of the meeting was to talk with one another about their father. They lamented that he (Inkosi Jobe) was too old to eat meat that had been grazed, drinking milk and not talking. Young men asked questions about when Inkosi Jobe would die and be replaced by another king. The main speaker at the meeting was Dingiswayo but other young men agreed with him. The words spoken at that meeting Nodunga *kaMakhanya kaNjonjonjo Mthethwa* who was an *induna* heard all because he was also part of the meeting. After the meeting, Nodunga went to report everything to inkosi Jobe. Inkosi Jobe's heart was very sad to hear the story. He gave each of his sons at oYengweni oxen. He sent Nodunga to inform his sons that the cows he had given them should slaughter them all at once. He emphasized that he would come and set up a king to rule the people in his place.³⁹⁵

At that event, he ordered the young boys not to come. So, when the oxen were slaughtered, Inkosi Jobe did not come, and he said that he would come and eat their chests. Inkosi Jobe finally came with his many regiments and told them (regiments) that they had to slaughter all his sons and not one of them was to make sure that the most powerful Dingiswayo was killed. When it was time for the importation of alcohol, Inkosi Jobe spits out - a tactic that his regiments planned to see when it was time to stab his sons. Then, as the sun sets, all the children of Inkosi Jobe had killed them except Dingiswayo. He leapt against the wall with spears and pierced his fists under the ribs. He ran to the *kuDlaba kaMavovo emaChubeni* where they took off his spear. He lived *emaChubeni* until the wound was healed.³⁹⁶

³⁹³ Bayede Newspaper, 'Umlando wabakwaMthethwa kudabuka ezinye izizwe', 22 kuNhlangulana 2018.

³⁹⁴ Bayede Newspaper, 'Umlando wabakwaMthethwa kudabuka ezinye izizwe', 22 kuNhlangulana 2018.

³⁹⁵ S.J. Maphalala: Umlando wamakhosi esifundazweni sakwazulu : umqulu 1, n.p.

³⁹⁶ Bayede Newspaper, 'Umlando wabakwaMthethwa kudabuka ezinye izizwe', 22 kuNhlangulana 2018.

Bryant divides the history of the Nguni groups into three phases. The first phase dating from around AD 1500 to 1700. This he says, was a period when the Nguni migrated into the region from north and North West and dispersed in their separate clans to localities where many of them are still to be found today or at least the beginning of the nineteenth century.³⁹⁷ During this first phase, the Mthethwa people arrived at the uBombo mountain range to settle between these mountain ranges and the sea. They also moved further south under their Inkosi Xaba. Inkosi Khayi led them from where Sokhulu is today to establish themselves along the uMfolozi River. At this time their leader was Inkosi Jobe.

The second phase constituted what Bryant called the “Golden Age” of east Nguni history. This he described as a period when people lived in peace and stability in numerous small-scale clans under one strong ruler.³⁹⁸ The political development of the Mthethwa people at this time was such that king Dingiswayo had distinguished himself as a supreme ruler and had built the Mthethwa confederacy with more than thirty clans under Dingiswayo’s overlordship.³⁹⁹ The period was indeed peaceful and stable. The third phase was the “era of autocracy”.⁴⁰⁰ This began with the accession of leaders like King Dingiswayo and Emperor Shaka to the head of polities. Unlike Dingiswayo who was generous and humane, Emperor Shaka subjugated and destroyed his opponents. The Mthethwa at this time had formed part of a very strong Zulu army under Emperor Shaka who had begun building the Zulu nation as we know it today. King Dingiswayo was a compassionate, benevolent and just ruler (Stuart, 1986). He was not only capable but also very imaginative. He had a grand vision that the fiercely independent clans of southern Africa could be coordinated into a loosely structured political amalgamation. In working passionately and effectively toward that vision, he changed the political architecture of southern Africa and created the foundation of an empire.

Historians have attempted to offer various reasons to explain why King Dingiswayo believed so fervently in his social experiment of creating a political federation. One explanation is economic: a political federation would facilitate the creation of a monopoly on ivory trading with the newly arrived Europeans. In return for ivory and hides, the aligned chiefs would be supplied with much desired ‘exotic’ goods such as brass and beads. The possession of these goods would reinforce their power base at home since prized goods could be held out as carrots

³⁹⁷ A. Duminy & B. Guest (eds): Natal and Zululand from Earliest Times to 1910, p. 50.

³⁹⁸ Ibid.

³⁹⁹ R.B. Edgerton: Like Lions They Fought, p. 9.

⁴⁰⁰ A. Duminy & B. Guest (eds): Natal and Zululand from Earliest Times to 1910, p. 50.

to favourite warriors and servants. Another explanation for King Dingiswayo's interest in confederation was the trade-in slaves at Delagoa Bay under the Portuguese. It also appears that King Dingiswayo may have sought to unify the military outposts, manned with his new *amabutho*, to form a defensive boundary that would enable clans to escape from the predations of the slavers in the Delagoa Bay hinterland. Both of these explanations point to the arrival of white settlers as the key factor in King Dingiswayo's attempts at nation-building. By creating a new, broadly encompassing political entity, this visionary king would stop the incessant warfare between the clans caused by cattle raiding and disagreements about grazing rights, thereby ensuring greater strength against outside intruders.⁴⁰¹

4.3. KING DINGISWAYO KAJOBÉ AND THE EXPANSION OF THE MTHETHWA

Dingiswayo was born at the eBalungwini kraal on the south bank of the White Mfolozi River near where it is joined by the Mvamanzi. Later Dingiswayo and his mother moved to oYengweni I situated near the confluence of the White Mfolozi and the Mfuyeni Rivers. When he assumed power he named the new kraal situated on the watershed of the Mfolozi and Nseleni Rivers, near the headwaters of the Mvamanzi, oYengweni II.⁴⁰²

When Dingiswayo returned home, his father Inkosi Jobe had died. The fact that Dingiswayo fled from his father Inkosi Jobe and went into exile and after a long period of absence, finally returned to kwaMthethwa to take over the throne when his father had died a natural death, seems to be accepted as facts.⁴⁰³ It is important to take cognizance of the fact that many issues have been argued as reasons for Dingiswayo to flee from his father. The first version is that some people, close to the Mthethwa royal family, wished that Mawewe, who was the son of Inkosi Jobe from a minor wife, should succeed Inkosi Jobe, instead of Tana, who was the eldest, or twin brother Dingiswayo, both of whose mother was Mabamba, the Mbokazi princess.⁴⁰⁴ After this, there were rumours that Inkosi Jobe's principal advisor, Nodunga, Tana and Dingiswayo were plotting to assassinate Inkosi Jobe.⁴⁰⁵ When Inkosi Jobe heard this he then asked his regiments to kill them.

⁴⁰¹ M.F.R. Kets de Vries: *Lessons on Leadership by Terror: Finding Shaka Zulu in the Attic*, p. 28.

⁴⁰² J. B. Mcl. Daniel: 'A Geographical Study of Pre-Shakan Zululand', *South African Geographical Journal*, 55:1, pp. 23-31.

⁴⁰³ C.N. Mthethwa, eMbabe, 01-04-1995.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid.

The second version has argued that the two boys, Tana and Dingiswayo, had a discussion as they were bathing in the cool waters of the uMfolozi River one afternoon. As they were talking happily they happened to be overheard. The following is an account of Dingiswayo's conversation, "It would be for our people's good, Tana, to have you for their king instead of our father. Soon he will be full of foolishness and lacking in wisdom, so for our people's good we must help our father out of this world."⁴⁰⁶

Above the issue of the Inkosi Jobe and his sons, the Mthethwa during the second half of the eighteenth century gained control of most of the lower Mfolozi River valley in the region below 3,000 feet. By the time of King Dingiswayo, the Mthethwa had advanced beyond north and west. Because of the wide coastal plain, nearly sixty miles of rich lowland soils separate the coast and 3,000-foot contour. Much of this terrain is also covered with Zululand, offering excellent grazing and an exceptional environment for mixed farming. Inkosi Jobe, Dingiswayo's father, defended the terrain by constructing royal kraal sites midway between the Mfolozi and several defensible hills.⁴⁰⁷ It was under the leadership of King Dingiswayo that the Mthethwa expanded over the hill range between the Mfolozi and Mhlathuze Rivers.

King Dingiswayo was quick to establish that there was a need among the Mthethwa people for a very strong ruler who was going to assume the role of overlordship and mediate wherever and whenever disputes arose.⁴⁰⁸ In the early stages of King Dingiswayo's reign, several smaller neighbouring clans used to fight vigorously. Their quarrels no longer aimed at settling disputes, but at conquest. King Dingiswayo's reign led to the incorporation of about 30 thousand clans into the hegemony of the Mthethwa ruling house.⁴⁰⁹ It is, however, worth stating that the amalgamation of other clans is not something that was started by King Dingiswayo. He strengthened the process that was already in place since the days of Inkosi Khayi.⁴¹⁰

It should be noted that during the reign of King Dingiswayo *kaJobe* the Mthethwa army expanded rapidly. It was after the reorganisation of the army that King Dingiswayo embarked on the process of consolidation and expansion. Many sources have argued that King Dingiswayo expanded his army because of the changing nature of the Delagoa Bay trade

⁴⁰⁶ V. Ridgway: *Stories from Zulu History*, p. 4.

⁴⁰⁷ A.T. Bryant: *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal: containing earlier political history of the Eastern-Nguni clans*, pp. 86-113.

⁴⁰⁸ E. H. Brookes and C. de B. Webb: *A History of Natal*, p. 7.

⁴⁰⁹ R. B. Edgerton: *Like Lions They Fought*, p. 9.

⁴¹⁰ A. Duminy and B. Guest: *Natal and Zululand from Earliest Times to 1910*, p. 64.

competition.⁴¹¹ This is not the case but it should also be stated that the rise of the Mthethwa army marked an important advance in the rise of the Mthethwa kingdom.

The Mthethwa expansion under King Dingiswayo was divided into three areas. There was a Mthethwa expansion of the northern part of the polity, there was also campaigns on the coastal areas. The last campaigns were on the inland of the polity. In the northern part of the polity, the Mthethwa policy was that of consolidation than expansion. This was done to secure trade routes in the northern part of the polity. In the northern border, the Mthethwa did not worry about establishing their control because the area was occupied by clans who had close link and association with the Mthethwa.⁴¹²

At this time, the northern coastal areas of the Mthethwa was already occupied by the Mthethwa tributary clans (Sokhulu and the Dube). These two groups were very helpful to the Mthethwa, especially with agricultural products.⁴¹³ It must be pointed out that the relations between the Mthethwa and its tributary clans changed completely during the reign of King Dingiswayo kaJobe. This was because King Dingiswayo began to appoint the Mthethwa loyalists as the *izinduna*.⁴¹⁴ At the south of Sokhulu, some Mbonambi people were forced to pay allegiance to King Dingiswayo.

King Dingiswayo in his early campaigns attacked the Ngwane. The Ngwane were located between the Mfule River and the Qwabe border. Through traditions, the Ngadi were genealogically linked to the Qwabe. What is noteworthy mentioning is that they refused to acknowledge the supremacy of the Mthethwa. As a result of this, King Dingiswayo launched an attack on them. The Qadi who occupied the area south of the Thukela River were also attacked. These two groups were defeated and they were required to pay allegiance to the Mthethwa. Their cattle were also taken to the Mthethwa.⁴¹⁵ What is not known is whether the Qadi and Ngadi men were incorporated into the Mthethwa *amabutho* or not.

⁴¹¹ Hedges: Trade and Politics in Southern Mozambique and Zululand in the Eighteen and Nineteenth Centuries', PhD thesis, University of London, 1978, pp. 149-152.

⁴¹² C. Hamilton, 'Ideology, Oral Tradition and the Struggle for Power in the Early Zulu Kingdom', MA dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 1985, p. 123.

⁴¹³ Ibid.

⁴¹⁴ A.T. Bryant: Olden Times in Zululand and Natal: containing earlier political history of the Eastern-Nguni clans, p. 129.

⁴¹⁵ J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 269, Evidence of Mmemi.

After these campaigns, King Dingiswayo began a campaign against Phakathwayo, inkosi of *abakwaQwabe*. Inkosi Phakathwayo had many heads of cattle. The *casus belli* of the Mthethwa attack on Inkosi Phakathwayo was that that Inkosi Phakathwayo used to graze his heads of cattle separately according to their colours. Inkosi Phakathwayo did not recognise the Mthethwa overrule. As a result, his *isigodlo* was removed and was denied many of the royal rights. For instance, he was denied the right to keep his herds of cattle according to the colour of their hides. He was also denied the right of slaughtering meat for his regiments.⁴¹⁶

Another campaign King Dingiswayo embarked on in the south was against Thokozwayo *kaMandayiza*. Thokozwayo was attacked because he was celebrating a certain *umkhosi* (function). It is not clear what function it was but what appears is that the function he was conducting was a central royal ritual.⁴¹⁷ King Dingiswayo sent messengers to Thokozwayo to ask who said he must celebrate that function. The reply was: “*Ngizoyek’ umkhosi, kanti kanginkosi yini na?*” (Am I not inkosi, why should I not celebrate this function?)⁴¹⁸ King Dingiswayo was too annoyed at this reply and so he sent off his warriors to teach Thokozwayo a lesson. Thokozwayo was stabbed to death and his head was cut off.⁴¹⁹

King Dingiswayo also sent his regiments on a campaign to attack Macingwane *kaLubhoko* of *eNgonyameni* at Nkandla. Macingwane was a Mchunu and he also kept his *isigodlo*. King Dingiswayo sent his messengers to request him to remove his *isigodlo* to avoid war and the confiscation of his cattle.⁴²⁰ Macingwane refused and was attacked. Macingwane’s *impi* was defeated and his cattle and *isigodlo* were taken away. Macingwane accepted King Dingiswayo’s overlordship after he had been defeated.⁴²¹

King Dingiswayo also campaigned against Matiwane *kaMasumpa kaSihayo* who celebrated festivals and has his palace and regiments. At that time, he was settled in a large area near the town of Ladysmith.⁴²² On hearing this, Dingiswayo sent all his *amabutho*, including the three old ones belonging to his father *aMnyama*, *aMhlophe* and *uYengondlovu*. It was a distance from the Mthethwa to Matiwane, but King Dingiswayo sent his regiments to attack the Ngwane

⁴¹⁶ J.S.A., vol. 1, pp. 323-343, Evidence of Lunguza.

⁴¹⁷ K.C., Stuart Papers, file 53, ‘The Life of Shaka’, by Stuart, n.p.

⁴¹⁸ J. Stuart: Ubaxoxele, p. 27.

⁴¹⁹ Ibid.

⁴²⁰ K.C., Stuart Papers, file 53, ‘The Life of Shaka’, by Stuart, n.p.

⁴²¹ M.P. Mbuthu, eSikhupheni, 27-04-1995.

⁴²² Bayede Newspaper ‘Ukwakhiwa kwamabutho kaDingiswayo’.

of Matiwane. At dawn, he was at Matiwane's territory. He first released one of his father's *ibutho eliMhlophe*. They fought Matiwane until the sun rose. When King Dingiswayo saw that it was difficult to defeat the Ngwane, he supplied the regiments he had sent with another regiment, *ibutho eliMnyama*. This resulted in the burning of the Ngwane homes and the Ngwane regiments retreated. As Matiwane's people retreated, Dingiswayo took the spoils in the form of cattle and *isigodlo* and his wives.⁴²³

When the Ngwane homes were burnt down they fled their homes but managed to take Ziyongo's cloth and run away. Ziyongo was the Prime Minister of Inkosi Jobe's army. Matiwane's army then fled and the cattle were taken by Mthethwa regiments. The issue of Ziyongo's cloth was reported to King Dingiswayo. When King Dingiswayo heard of Ziyongo's cloth that had been taken, he sent people to go and announce that if the cloth was not returned on that same day, he would send his *impi* the following day, mightier than on the previous occasion against Matiwane again.

When Matiwane sent his messengers with cattle as a tribute to acknowledge King Dingiswayo's overlordship as well as bringing back Ziyongo's cloth, King Dingiswayo released Matiwane's wives and gave them cows for milk so that they would not starve.⁴²⁴ From this incident, thus the proverb said: "Uyobuya wedwa okwengubo kaZiyongo." (You will return alone in the mantle of Ziyongo). Never again did King Dingiswayo attack Matiwane. They lived in peace with Matiwane constantly telling King Dingiswayo about things that happened to his nation.⁴²⁵

Another campaign was sent against *abaThembu* (Mthembu people). The Mthembu people were the earliest objects of the Mthethwa interest in the west. The Mthembu occupied an area on the south bank of uMfolozi. They were a small group who refused to pay allegiance to King Dingiswayo. King Dingiswayo was annoyed to hear that Jama, inkosi of the Mthembu people, had *isigodlo* (an internal household where the king's maidens (wives) or girls presented to the king as tribute were kept).⁴²⁶ King Dingiswayo had sent messengers to Jama to ask why he was keeping *isigodlo* though he was not a king. Jama's reply was: "*Ngiyinkosi, noma ngingesiyo*

⁴²³ 'Ukwakhiwa kwaMabutho kaDingiswayo', Bayede Newspaper, 27 November 2014.

⁴²⁴ A.M. Mthethwa: The History of Abakwamthethwa, p. 58.

⁴²⁵ 'Ukwakhiwa kwaMabutho kaDingiswayo', Bayede Newspaper, 27 November 2014.

⁴²⁶ J. Stuart: Ubaxoxele, p. 26.

eyohlanga.” (“I am inkosi, though not a king”). He admitted having *isigodlo*. This greatly angered King Dingiswayo who sent out his warriors to attack Jama’s *umuzi*.⁴²⁷

They put Jama to death taking with them all his belongings, including cattle, his wives and *isigodlo*. When Dingiswayo’s warriors finally arrived at *kwaMthethwa* with the rewards, King Dingiswayo was not happy about their doing. He told his warriors that he did not like taking inkosi’s wives and killing the inkosi. He issued an order that *amakhosi* should no longer be killed, neither should their wives be taken as rewards. King Dingiswayo argued that this will make the earth poor and barren.⁴²⁸

From that day on *amakhosi* were no longer killed. King Dingiswayo was sympathetic because he did not want to see the people he had conquered starving. He would only take the oxen and distribute them among his warriors while he returned the cows to the defeated people for them to have milk and for breeding purposes.⁴²⁹ The southern part near the Thukela River was of great importance to the Mthethwa and the control of the southern part of Zulu was more direct for the Mthethwa. It was direct because it was marked by the establishment of a powerful representation of the Mthethwa in the area. For instance, when the Mthethwa took over the area they began to place their loyal people as *amakhosi*.

This was observed after the death of the inkosi *yakwaQwabe* when King Dingiswayo intervened in the succession dispute between Phakathwayo and Nomo. Nomo was born to Dingiswayo’s sister from the *khohlo* house. Nomo was saying that he was also an inkosi of Qwabe. The conflict between Nomo and Phakathwayo was reported to King Dingiswayo. He (King Dingiswayo) resolved the dispute by taking Nomo to build his residence in Mpemvu, near Nseleni, after ordering him to leave all the cows to Phakathwayo, to take his only belongings and family. This area that Nomo was allocated was between the Qwabe and the Mthethwa.

When Nomo reached eNseleni, King Dingiswayo gave him cattle that were more than he had left with Inkosi Phakathwayo. Nomo settled there at Nseleni in luxury. In this area, Nomo exerted the right to be recognised as an inkosi. The friendship between King Dingiswayo and Nomo was strong in such a way that King Dingiswayo defended any attack that was launched

⁴²⁷ A.M. Mthethwa: The History of Abakwamthethwa, pp. 52-53.

⁴²⁸ J. Stuart: Ubaxoxele, p. 26.

⁴²⁹ N. Mthethwa, eNseleni, 06-05-1995

against Nomo. As time goes on inkosi Phakathwayo suspected that King Dingiswayo wanted to make Nomo be an inkosi of Qwabe. As a result, Inkosi Phakathwayo sent his army to kill Nomo at night. The war broke out and burned up the houses. War was declared inside the Mthethwa land.⁴³⁰

The news of the war was heard first by the *iNyakatho* and *iZichwe* regiments. The battle of Inkosi Phakathwayo which was sent to kill Nomo was led by the Zinkonde army. By morning the army of the Mthethwa had been organized. A battle was led by the Ngomane *kaMqomboli* encamped at the port of *uMhlathuze*. After leaving Nseleni in Nomo's, Inkosi Phakathwayo's army was followed by another battle of Mthethwa, with Ngomane waiting at the port of *uMhlathuze*. So it ended up fighting with spears. They barked at each other until they reached *Mhlathuzana*, Then and *uMlalazi*. The Mthethwa chased the Qwabe until they reached *uThukela*. *IZinkonde* regiment was beaten and killed and nobody was left. Nomo survived because of the support he received from the Mthethwa.⁴³¹

The campaign of the Mthethwa in the south saw the Mthethwa establishing control across the *Mhlathuze* drifts.⁴³² It is noteworthy mentioning that the campaign of the Mthethwa in the south against the Qwabe was of importance for the Mthethwa. The Mthethwa actions to the south and coastal areas appeared to have been designed tributary arrangements involving both agricultural products and cattle. What is noticeable is the fact that the Mthethwa expansion under King Dingiswayo was completely different from the Mthethwa expansion under Inkosi Jobe. During the reign of King Dingiswayo, the Mthethwa expansion was marked by the growth in the number of *amabutho* which was not seen during the reign of Inkosi Jobe. The control of the Mthethwa extended over the southern area which was occupied by the Mbokazi. The Mbokazi inkosi was killed and replaced by the Mthethwa.

When the army of the Mthethwa began to be small than the mighty power of King Zwide of the Ndwandwe, King Dingiswayo began to sub-contract out his military responsibilities to his loyalties. It must also be posited that at this time King Dingiswayo wanted Shaka to take the Zulu chieftaincy. As was the case in the north-east, Nqoboka was assisted by the Mthethwa to

⁴³⁰ 'Ukwakhiwa kwaMabutho kaDingiswayo', *Bayede Newspaper*, 27 November 2014.

⁴³¹ 'Ukwakhiwa kwaMabutho kaDingiswayo', *Bayede Newspaper*, 27 November 2014.

⁴³² J.S.A., Vol. 3, pp. 243-245, Evidence of Mmemi.

Sokhulu chieftaincy, King Shaka was assisted by the Mthethwa *iZichwe*, Nhlanguane and Nyakeni regiments to the Zulu chieftaincy.⁴³³

After the accession of Emperor Shaka to the throne of Zulu, King Dingiswayo made sure that the Mthethwa were well served in the royal house of Zulu. When Emperor Shaka left Mthethwa, King Dingiswayo sent his wives, Gudayi and Emperor Shaka, as well as some officials.⁴³⁴ By this action, King Dingiswayo sought to establish Mthethwa satellite forces that would continue to consolidate powers on behalf of Mthethwa. Emperor Shaka had reformed and enlarged the Zulu army. He carried out several campaigns on behalf of the Mthethwa Confederacy. Emperor Shaka's early campaigns were against the Mbatha. At the same time, King Dingiswayo was still fighting a war to expand his domains against the neighbouring Ntshalini people.⁴³⁵

It is worth mentioning that Emperor Shaka continued with his campaign and he successfully conquered and incorporated the part of the Khumalo, Langeni, the part of Buthelezi and the Qungebeni. What must be mentioned is that these chiefdoms were incorporated into Zulu domains. The incorporated chiefdoms' men and women were incorporated into Zulu *amabutho* and *izigodlo*. It must also be stated that during this time, Emperor Shaka was having a strong relationship with King Dingiswayo of the Mthethwa. This was the case because when the Zulu had conquered the Langeni, the Langeni orphans were sent to Mthethwa where they were given land to settle.⁴³⁶ Their work relation also continued during the times of campaign as Emperor Shaka had supplied King Dingiswayo with *amabutho* to fight against Matiwane.⁴³⁷

When the army of the Mthethwa began to be small than the mighty power of King Zwide of the Ndwandwe, King Dingiswayo began to sub-contract out his military responsibilities to his loyalties. It must also be posited that at this time King Dingiswayo wanted Shaka to take the Zulu chieftaincy. As was the case in the north-east, Nqoboka was assisted by the Mthethwa to

⁴³³ J.S.A., Vol. 1, pp 180-182, evidence of Jantshi; K.C. Stuart Papers, file 53, 'The Life of Shaka', by Stuart.

⁴³⁴ A.T. Bryant: *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal: containing earlier political history of the Eastern-Nguni clans*, pp. 120-123.

⁴³⁵ C. Hamilton, 'Ideology, Oral Tradition and the Struggle for Power in the Early Zulu Kingdom', MA dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 1985, p. 135.

⁴³⁶ A.T. Bryant: *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal: containing earlier political history of the Eastern-Nguni clans*, pp. 133, 136 and 225.

⁴³⁷ C. Hamilton, 'Ideology, Oral Tradition and the Struggle for Power in the Early Zulu Kingdom', MA dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 1985, p. 135.

Sokhulu chieftaincy, Shaka was assisted by the Mthethwa *iZichwe*, Nhlangane and Nyakeni regiments to the Zulu chieftaincy.⁴³⁸ King Dingiswayo was able to get more than thirty (30) clans under his control to adhere to his command.⁴³⁹ What has always been the case is to document all his campaigns against these clans. It is necessary to point out that not all the clans that came under the jurisdiction of the Mthethwa did so by coercion. Any of the clans willingly joined the Mthethwa hegemon. These clans consisted, in fact, of those smaller ones who acknowledged King Dingiswayo's authority without being invaded by King Dingiswayo's army.

It should also be remembered that King Dingiswayo prevented the spilling of blood as much as possible. He assured that people were not killed for no cause at all. In all the wars fought by his troops, he (King Dingiswayo) highly stressed that women and children should not be killed. "I fight with men, not with women and children."⁴⁴⁰ It could also be claimed that King Dingiswayo had spared the lives of his rivals.⁴⁴¹ For instance, he captured King Zwide a few times, but instead of killing him, he allowed him to live.

The most prominent of the captured clans were Mthembu, Qwabe, eLangeni, Matiwane, Macingwane, Qadi, Zulu, Mtshali, Buthelezi, Khuzway, Swazi, Xhosa, etc.⁴⁴² King Dingiswayo was also a warrior who not only used the war to expand the territories of the Mthethwa. He used rituals such as *ijadu* to put his enemies to peaceful subjugation. After several failed attempts by King Dingiswayo to subjugate them, the Qwabe under Inkosi Khondlo was targeted by King Dingiswayo's uYengondlovu regiment.⁴⁴³ When Inkosi Khondlo learned of this intention, he ordered all his people to retire to the Ngoye forest with their cattle. After hearing the response of Inkosi Khondlo, King Dingiswayo ordered his maidens to begin singing and dancing. King Dingiswayo's strategy was too much for young Qwabe warriors to avoid. Soon, they came out of the forest and entered the *ijadu*.⁴⁴⁴ King Dingiswayo then had the chance to speak to the Qwabe people for them to adhere to his rule

⁴³⁸ J.S.A., Vol. 1, pp 180-182, evidence of Jantshi; K.C. Stuart Papers, file 53, 'The Life of Shaka', by Stuart.

⁴³⁹ R.B. Edgerton: Like Lions They Fought, p. 9.

⁴⁴⁰ V. Ridgway: Stories from Zulu History, p. 23.

⁴⁴¹ E. A. Ritter: Shaka Zulu, p. 61.

⁴⁴² J. Stuart and D. McK. Malcolm: The Diary of Henry Francis Fynn, p. 9.

⁴⁴³ V. Ridgway: Stories from Zulu History, p. 23.

⁴⁴⁴ C. N. Mthethwa, eMbabe, 06-05-1995.

peacefully. King Dingiswayo has won the day with *ijadu* and joy instead of war and bloodshed.⁴⁴⁵

4.4. SHAKA IN THE SERVICE OF KING DINGISWAYO

As the first step to prosperity, Shaka joined King Dingiswayo's forces. By his bravery, he won himself a place of favour in the great King's council. But he found the warfare and policies of King Dingiswayo too mild and badly organised for his liking. The regiments only assembled in full force from time to time when there was a campaign to be fought. They were armed with long-handled throwing spears, the traditional weapon for hunting as well as war. This meant that when a warrior had thrown his spear, he was bound to retire from the front line. The battle could not be fought in orderly formation. The disorganised affairs generally did not result in defeating the enemy severely.

King Dingiswayo's peaceful policy towards the chiefdoms he conquered was also rather gentle. He hoped to establish peaceful conditions by bringing many people to acknowledge his paramountcy. He allowed those who accepted his authority a very great deal of autonomy and he did not seek to destroy his enemies completely.⁴⁴⁶ When his army returned from a successful campaign with a booty of cattle, he would only keep the oxen and send the cows back to the conquered people. Shaka realised that if instead of throwing spears, the warriors kept hold of them, advancing right up to the enemy and fighting hand in hand, a much more organised type of warfare would be possible. The regiment could move in an ordered line protecting itself behind linked shields until it came face to face with the foe. If they had disarmed themselves by throwing their spears, they would have been completely massacred. He also despised the easy-going attitude of King Dingiswayo to conquered chiefdoms. They should be brought under strict control or crushed completely, to gather strength to fight another day.

Shaka's opportunity to become the leader of the Zulu clan came when his father died and the Zulu clan needed a new inkosi. Shaka was not a rightful heir to the throne. But Shaka used his position at King Dingiswayo's court to get the support of the Mthethwa regiment and with this, he easily made himself the ruler of his father's people. He was then in a position to put his

⁴⁴⁵ V. Ridgway: *Stories from Zulu History*, p. 22.

⁴⁴⁶ O. Ikime: *Leadership in 19th Century Africa: Essays from Tarikh*, p. 5.

ideas into practice. One of his first acts was to give his men a practical demonstration of his new methods.

4.5. SHAKA AND THE INCORPORATION OF THE MTHETHWA AND ITS TRIBUTARY CLANS

When King Dingiswayo became the king of the Mthethwa confederacy he revived the iZichwe regiment. Shaka became part of the regiment.⁴⁴⁷ When Shaka Zulu, the son of Inkosi Senzangakhona, inkosi of a small Zulu clan, finally joined the iZichwe regiment in about 1812, his ideas greatly boosted the performance of iZichwe in particular and the entire army of Dingiswayo in general. Shaka was pleased with his progress. King Dingiswayo told Buza, the commander of the iZichwe regiment to present Shaka to him. He had already had a very favourable report on his first battle and was greatly impressed by what he had seen that day. What is important is that at his first glance into the sharp and intelligent eyes of the young warrior (Shaka), King Dingiswayo saw the leader. He recognized this after putting a number of questions to him. He was surprised at the prompt and clever replies he got from him.⁴⁴⁸

The first act of King Dingiswayo was to form his people into regiments and to subdivide these into sections. The regiments were each distinguished by a name, and by the colour of the shields carried by the men. Over regiments, King Dingiswayo placed captains, the principals being called captains of regiments, the inferior one's captains of sections. He introduced war-dresses of a most imposing appearance to be worn by the king's men and warriors.⁴⁴⁹ After King Dingiswayo had organized his regiment, he began attacking all the surrounding clans and chiefdoms. The first clan to be conquered by King Dingiswayo were the Qadi. He directed their cattle to be brought to his place of residence and there to be assorted. The oxen were distributed among his warriors, but he restored the cows to the defeated clan, from whom he exacted submission to his authority. On this principle, he continued his conquests. The most important of the conquered chiefdoms were the Qwabe, Langeni, Qadi, Zulu, Ntshali, Buthelezi, Kuyiwane, Thembu, Swazi and the Xhosa. The only king he had not subdued, i.e. up to the coming of Shaka, was Zwide, King of the Ndwandwe chiefdom.⁴⁵⁰

⁴⁴⁷ S.J. Mabena: 'The Manipulation of History in the Novel Yekanini by J.J.J. Gwayi', MA Dissertation submitted a Vista University, 2000, p. 23

⁴⁴⁸ J.K. Sowards: 'Shaka Zulu: "Black Napoleon,"' *Makers of World History - Volume 1*, p. 204.

⁴⁴⁹ J. Stuart and D. McK. Malcolm: *The Diary of Henry Francis Fynn*, p. 9.

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid.

Shaka distinguished himself at an early age, by his courage and self-command, being always the first in the attack, and courting every danger. He was known by the name of Sikiti. Various were the acts by which He signalized himself in action through various acts. It is important to posit that much of his acts were against the wish of King Dingiswayo. For instance, King Dingiswayo objected to his taking an active part in the battle, considering it unnecessary for a prince to expose himself to that extent. To avoid him from taking part in the battle, King Dingiswayo would order his shield to be taken from him. Shaka, however, always managed to steal another from one of his companions. Though these actions Shaka soon became known among the neighbouring clans and chiefdoms as “King Dingiswayo’s hero.” With King Dingiswayo, Shaka remained until the death of his father, Inkosi Senzangakhona.⁴⁵¹

During the first year of his chieftainship in the Zulu clan, Shaka continued tributary to King Dingiswayo, which prevented him from displaying his abilities or following his inclinations. The experience he had gained during his attendance on King Dingiswayo could not easily find scope for action because his protector was alive. About 12 months after Shaka succeeded his father, King Dingiswayo went out to attack King Zwide. Shaka accompanied King Dingiswayo, commanding one regiment. However, King Dingiswayo was captured and put to death. After the death of their king, the Mthethwa confederacy, their king being a prisoner, was defeated. Some joined the ranks of the victors, while the remainder returned to their country, acknowledging Mondisa, as their king. Mondisa was King Dingiswayo’s brother.⁴⁵²

There are different versions from different historical accounts about the death of King Dingiswayo in the hands of King Zwide. The version above has indicated that King Dingiswayo attacked King Zwide and was captured and assassinated. However, the version below has not seen the issue of the beautiful girl that King Dingiswayo gave to Malusi kaManukuza as the cause of the war between the Ndwandwe and the Mthethwa confederacies. Some sources have argued that the war between the Ndwandwe and the Mthethwa erupted because the two kingdoms had become centralised and militarised as a result they battled for control of the resources.⁴⁵³

⁴⁵¹ A.C.T. Mayekiso: The historical novels of Jessie Joyce Gwayi. Master of Arts (University of Zululand, South Africa), 1985, p. 17.

⁴⁵² International Oral History Association in collaboration with Sinomlando Project: The Power of Oral History: Memory, Healing and Development, Volume 3, University of Natal, 2002.

⁴⁵³ F. Prins: First Phase Cultural Heritage Impact Assessment of the Proposed Phinda Water Pipeline Near Mkhuze, Northern Kwazulu-Natal, p. 7.

The retreat of King Sobhuza left King Zwide and King Dingiswayo facing each other in central Zululand. About 1817 war broke out between them. King Dingiswayo marched to attack his enemy and sent a message to Shaka to bring his forces in support of his overlord. Some say that Shaka deliberately betrayed King Dingiswayo into the hands of the foe, others posit that he merely arrived too late to affect the course of events. Whatever may be the truth of this matter, King Dingiswayo left the main body of his forces to climb a hill from where he could look down on the battlefield. He found that he had walked into a trap and was seized by the Ndwandwe and put to death.⁴⁵⁴

The Mthethwa under King Dingiswayo embarked on was a campaign against King Zwide of the Ndwandwe. The attack on King Zwide *kaLanga* was the result of King Zwide's talk about why King Dingiswayo had taken a beautiful girlfriend and given her Malusi *kaManukuza kaLanga Nxumalo*? Malusi was also the son of Langa who belonged to the *khohlwa* side. Because of this act by King Dingiswayo, King Zwide was furious. It was not the first time that King Dingiswayo's relationship with King Zwide had been raised. In many cases, King Zwide was overpowered by King Dingiswayo. By the time King Zwide attacked Malusi, he had more people than King Dingiswayo.⁴⁵⁵ King Zwide waged war on Malusi and killed him, his wives and his army. When the news of Malusi's death over King Zwide arrived to King Dingiswayo ears, King Dingiswayo felt very painful. He (King Dingiswayo) decided to go with his officials to pay a visit to King Zwide *kaLanga*. He did not go with his regiments because King Zwide was his son-in-law. The purpose of the trip was to ask if King Zwide why he had killed Malusi because he had also married Malusi's sisters.⁴⁵⁶

When King Zwide and King Dingiswayo entered the *inkundla* the next day. King Zwide asked his messenger to call King Dingiswayo into an *inkundla* to discuss the purpose of his visit. In this *inkundla* there was a large quantity of alcohol and King Zwide had slaughtered oxen for King Dingiswayo and his officials. King Dingiswayo did not go with his palace and wives except the officials. Then King Dingiswayo and all his officials went out to the *inkundla*. When they finished drinking alcohol, King Zwide told King Dingiswayo that since he had come to him for Malusi's story, he had found him (meaning King Dingiswayo).

⁴⁵⁴ N. Dlamini and J. de Villiers: *Effective History*, pp. 19-20.

⁴⁵⁵ E. Eldredge: *AmaZulu Expansion and Repercussions: Early Conflicts and Migrations*. In *The Creation of the Zulu Kingdom, 1815–1828: War, Shaka, and the Consolidation of Power*, pp. 76-105.

⁴⁵⁶ 'Ukwakhiwa kwaMabutho kaDingiswayo', *Bayede Newspaper*, 27 November 2014.

King Zwide told King Dingiswayo that he did not respect him. He asked King Dingiswayo that why did he take the girlfriend gave her to Malusi which he likened him (Malusi) to his dog? He also asked King Dingiswayo that why he killed the baby of Mawewe? He told him (King Dingiswayo) that if he wanted to survive the slaughter he would have to pay for his act with all of his cattle from the oYengweni place. Those cows, according to King Zwide, had to replace King Dingiswayo sister, Nomathuli kaJobe, whose mother was from the Qwabe. After all, King Zwide's attempt to hold King Dingiswayo accountable, King Dingiswayo refused to yield and swore that King Zwide would take his cattle over his dead body. After King Dingiswayo's response, Zwide summoned his regiments.⁴⁵⁷

When the regiments arrived, they stabbed King Dingiswayo and his officers and all died on the scene. The *ikhanda* in which King Dingiswayo was killed *kukwaNdwandwe*, which was the head of Zwide's house. After the death of King Dingiswayo, Mondisa kaJobe took over the Mthethwa throne. The Mthethwa family did not allow Mondisa to succeed because King Dingiswayo children had grown up, and had qualified for their father's position. This succession dispute among the Mthethwa divided the Mthethwa. Some part of the Mthethwa accepted Mondisa but the other part refused to allow him to succeed King Dingiswayo. The problem was that King Dingiswayo was killed without pointing an apparent heir to the throne after him.

In the ensuing chaos, Mondisa assassinated all the officials of King Dingiswayo except Ngomane kaMqomboli Mdletshe.⁴⁵⁸ Following the assassination of officials, Ngomane Mdletshe and his regiments fled to Emperor Shaka. He reported to Emperor Shaka about the developments that happened to Mthethwa. He left the army at a distance from Bulawayo's palace and went to Emperor Shaka alone. Then Ngomane was accepted and all the *amakhanda* who did not approve of Mondisa and were able to escape his slaughterhouse joined Emperor Shaka. Only those who loved Mondisa were left. After this, the Mthethwa were ruled by Mondisa.⁴⁵⁹

The death of King Dingiswayo meant that the Ndwandwe confederacy was now the dominant force in the east from 1750 to 1820. The kingdom's role has been neglected because its history

⁴⁵⁷ 'Ukwakhiwa kwaMabutho kaDingiswayo', Bayede Newspaper, 27 November 2014.

⁴⁵⁸ J. Stuart et al: The James Stuart Archive of Recorded Oral Evidence Relating o the History of the Zulu and Neighbouring Peoples, Volume 1, p. 190.

⁴⁵⁹ 'Ukwakhiwa kwaMabutho kaDingiswayo', Bayede Newspaper, 27 November 2014.

has been overshadowed by the successor Zulu state. Historians of this period feel that there is an important necessity that the Ndwandwe confederacy be included in the study of the history of this time. According to the new view, the Zulu kingdom emerges as one of several important African states. It was the product rather than the cause of a long period of political upheaval.

When King Dingiswayo was killed, Emperor Shaka with his military machine avenged his mentor's death, attacking the Ndwandwe in battle (two of Zwide's generals, Shoshangane and Zwangendaba, fled north and established kingdoms in present-day Mozambique and southern Tanzania, respectively).⁴⁶⁰ Shaka then incorporated the Mthethwa under his rule and established the Zulu state as the dominant power among the northern Nguni. The Battle of Gqokli Hill was fought between the forces of Shaka and King Zwide of the Ndwandwe in 1818. Although he faced a numerically superior enemy, Emperor Shaka's military tactics won the day and he scored a huge victory. Two other generals, who would later found nations on the sub-continent, were involved in the battle. They were Shoshangane who founded the Shangane nation in Mozambique and Mzilikazi, who founded the Ndebele in today's Limpopo province and southern Zimbabwe.

The victory of Emperor Shaka over the *amaNdwandwe* was followed by the domination of the defeated *amaMthethwa*, who had once held authority over the *amaZulu*. The subordinated *amakhosi* of the *amaMthethwa* were incorporated into the newly formed Zulu state as lower-level *izinduna*. Their royal bloodline lost its political significance and they began to identify themselves as *amaZulu*.⁴⁶¹ Emperor Shaka appointed *izinduna* of his own to oversee *imizi* that had been subordinated previously by King Dingiswayo. Thus he ensured the loyalty of these peripheral groups to the Zulu state.⁴⁶²

Shaka built on King Dingiswayo's foundations, he radically expanded his control of the region that stretched east to west from the Indian Ocean to the Mzinyathi River and north to south from Phongola and Mkhuze Rivers to the Mngeni River.⁴⁶³ After the death of King Dingiswayo, Mondisa kaJobe took over the Mthethwa throne. The Mthethwa family did not allow Mondisa to succeed because King Dingiswayo children had grown up, and had qualified for their father's position. This succession dispute among the Mthethwa divided the Mthethwa.

⁴⁶⁰ <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/rza/ndwandwe-kingdom.htm> (accessed 10-10-2020)

⁴⁶¹ D.R. Morris: *The Washing of the Spears: The Rise and Fall of the Zulu Nation*, p. 64.

⁴⁶² L.W. Parker: *The Spartans and the amaZulu: A Comparative Study of their Military and Social Systems*, p. 97.

⁴⁶³ Refer to Map 1 (Appendix One).

Some part of the Mthethwa accepted Mondisa but the other part refused to allow him to succeed King Dingiswayo. The problem was that King Dingiswayo was killed without pointing an apparent heir to the throne after him.

The various clans and chiefdoms who had been conquered and formed part of the Mthethwa confederacy also refused to acknowledge Mondisa as the king of the Mthethwa confederacy. In the ensuing chaos, Mondisa assassinated all the officials of King Dingiswayo except Ngomane kaMqomboli Mdletshe. Following the assassination of officials, Ngomane Mdletshe and his regiments fled to Emperor Shaka. He reported to Emperor Shaka about the developments that happened to Mthethwa. He left the army at a distance from Bulawayo's palace and went to Emperor Shaka alone. Then Ngomane was accepted and all the *amakhanda* who did not approve of Mondisa and were able to escape his slaughterhouse joined Emperor Shaka. Only those who loved Mondisa were left. After this, the Mthethwa were ruled by Mondisa.⁴⁶⁴

Shaka was now at liberty to exercise his full power. Shaka soon found a reason for attacking Mondisa and that part of the Mthethwa confederacy that had remained with him. The confederacy was still in confusion from the loss of its chieftain, and in fear of retaliation from the clans and chiefdoms which, having been conquered by King Dingiswayo, were now left at liberty. With only a comparatively small force, Shaka succeeded in conquering them, killing half of that left and bringing the remainder to place themselves under his authority. After putting their king, Mondisa, to death Emperor Shaka appointing one of his own choices in his place.⁴⁶⁵

4.6. CONCLUSION

This chapter has discussed the rise of the Mthethwa. The Mthethwa gradually expanded their influence by extending into the hunting regions of the surrounding plains, annexing territory and incorporating land, neighbours and 'immigrants'. The process involved the voluntary subjugations of various lineage groups to the Mthethwa, such as the Mkhwanazi, under Cungele; and the conquest of others, such as the Cambini under Maliba, resulting in the obliteration of the ruling Cambini lineage, and the Dletsheni and the Gengeni. These groups were assimilated into the Mthethwa confederacy by manipulating their traditions of origin that

⁴⁶⁴ J. Stuart and D. McK. Malcolm: The Diary of Henry Francis Fynn, p. 15

⁴⁶⁵ D. Wylie: Shaka, p. 63; J. Stuart and D. McK. Malcolm: The Diary of Henry Francis Fynn, p. 15.

enabled them to claim to be kinsfolk of the ruling lineage. Thus, the increasing power of the Mthethwa was established by its expansion into neighbouring territory, conquest, and the incorporation of 'immigrant' groups.

Following the expansion of the Mthethwa polity, during the reign of Inkosi Jobe during the 1770s, was characterised by active expansion on the part of the Mthethwa. It was also during this period that the first *amabutho* emerged. The *amabutho* provided the means through which the Mthethwa could extend their influence further afield by subjecting new chiefdoms under their rule. These new groups were incorporated during this period under the Mthethwa rule without being assimilated into the polity and without the rights and benefits of Mthethwa citizenship. New groups that were incorporated included the Sokhulu under Langa, the Dube and the Ncube.

It is noteworthy to mention that King Dingiswayo maintained his power in the Mthethwa kingdom by appointing individuals loyal to the Mthethwa as *amakhosi* of various groups he had conquered. According to Morris, he left most chiefdoms he had conquered in peace, at most replacing a recalcitrant inkosi with a pliant one, or designating a particular heir.⁴⁶⁶ One of the examples is that of the Mthembu inkosi which was killed by Dingiswayo and replaced by his heir, Ndima, a minor. King Dingiswayo was also responsible for the accession of Nqoboka kaLanga and of Emperor Shaka to the Sokhulu and Zulu chieftaincies, respectively.⁴⁶⁷ As a result, Nqoboka remained reliant on the Mthethwa military for backing. It must be posited that in this area Nqoboka was expected to frequently *khonza* and report to oYengweni royal residence.⁴⁶⁸ In this area, Nqoboka was expected to extend the Mthethwa hegemony and to continue with the consolidation of power on behalf of the Mthethwa to the northern region. It must be said that through Nqoboka, King Dingiswayo was able to overrun and incorporate the Mzimela people.⁴⁶⁹

King Dingiswayo appointed his loyal people as commanders and senior administrators, including the commander-in-chief of the army and *izinduna* in the areas he had conquered. The

⁴⁶⁶ D.R. Morris: *Washing of the spears: a history of the rise of the Zulu nation under Shaka and its fall in the Zulu War of 1879*, p. 43.

⁴⁶⁷ C. Hamilton, 'Ideology, Oral Tradition and the Struggle for Power in the Early Zulu Kingdom', MA dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 1985, pp. 131-132.

⁴⁶⁸ K.C. Stuart Papers, file 65, notebook 4, p. 16, evidence of Nhlekele; A.T. Bryant: *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal: containing earlier political history of the Eastern-Nguni clans*, p. 110.

⁴⁶⁹ A.T. Bryant: *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal: containing earlier political history of the Eastern-Nguni clans*, p. 110.

latter was responsible for direct rule over several groups conquered by the Mthethwa.⁴⁷⁰ The domains of chieftainship expanded during the reign of King Dingiswayo. The settlement of disputes, for instance, was politically adjudicated to the Mthethwa king and his loyal *izinduna*.⁴⁷¹ The following chapter focuses on the incorporation of coastal and mid-Thukela chiefdoms into the Zulu empire. These coastal and mid-Thukela chiefdoms were incorporated by Emperor Shaka Zulu into the growing Zulu empire.

⁴⁷⁰ C. Hamilton, 'Ideology, Oral Tradition and the Struggle for Power in the Early Zulu Kingdom', MA dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 1985, pp. 129-130.

⁴⁷¹ M. Deflem: 'Warfare, Political, Leadership, and State Formation: The Case of the Zulu Kingdom, 1808-1879', in *Ethnology*, Vol. 38, 1999, pp. 371-391.

CHAPTER FIVE

INCORPORATION OF COASTAL AND MID-THUKELA CHIEFDOMS INTO ZULU EMPIRE

5.1. INTRODUCTION

The Zulu expansion over the coastal and mid-Thukela was primarily seen as a defensive move undertaken to eliminate potential threats from the south and to help strengthen the new Zulu state against the Ndwandwe raids from the north.⁴⁷² This chapter discusses the incorporation and assimilation of the coastal and mid-Thukela chiefdoms by emperor Shaka Zulu. These chiefdoms include the Thuli, Nyuswa and the Cele chiefdoms. The Thuli and Cele paramountcies were much larger than any of the historically known chiefdoms which previously existed on the coastlands.⁴⁷³ It is important to mention that these chiefdoms extended their political influence beyond Mzimkhulu into Natal Midlands to the west. It is also of importance to mention that although they were able to establish centralised institutions of government which gave them authority to exercise their power over their adherents, both polities remained loose combination chiefdoms rather than growing states.⁴⁷⁴

The chapter also focuses on the extensions of Zulu control under Shaka over of these chiefdoms. The period between 1700 and 1750 in Southeast Africa underwent dramatic historical changes, which saw the formation and the development of the Mabhudu, Ndwandwe, Mthethwa, Qwabe, eMbo, (Mkhize-Hlubi) Dlamini, Ngwane, Ngcobo and finally, the Zulu state under Emperor Shaka. The advent of Emperor Shaka into the political scene in *abeNguni* set in motion a drastic political change, in which primordial systems of many clans and independent chieftains were demolished and replaced by autocratic rule.⁴⁷⁵

⁴⁷² C.A. Hamilton: Ideology, Oral Tradition and the struggle for power in the early Zulu Kingdom (unpublished MA dissertation, University of Witwatersrand, 1986), pp. 172-175.

⁴⁷³ J. Wright: 'Political Transformations in the Thukela-Mzimkhulu Region of Natal in the late 18th and early 19th centuries', *Omalu Sy Anio*, 1994, 33-36, p. 189.

⁴⁷⁴ J. Wright: The Dynamics of Power and conflict in the Thukela-Mzimkhulu Region in the late 18th and early 19th centuries: a critical reconstruction (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Witwatersrand, 1990), pp. 50-56.

⁴⁷⁵ A.T. Bryant: Olden Times in Zululand and Natal, p. 71.

5.2. SOUTHEAST AFRICA BEFORE THE ZULU CAMPAIGNS IN MID-THUKELA AND COASTAL CHIEFDOMS

The first attack was started by the Ndwandwe, who attacked the nearby Ngwane and drove them out of their territory in what is now the Vryheid area.⁴⁷⁶ Under their inkosi, Matiwane kaMasumpa, the Ngwane fled south-westward into the territory of the Hlubi. Matiwane's home was on the White Mfolozi River from which he was driven possibly by the Ndwandwe leader King Zwide before the emergence of Emperor Shaka. He fled south-west to Ntenjwa in the foothills of the Drakensberg, the original home of the Hlubi and the Zizi. This first invasion initiated his career as a conqueror and an overlord. Matiwane compelled defeated *amakhosi* to give up their eldest sons and their fattest cattle in return for being left alone. The men were organised into age-regiments, but an ethnic hierarchy persisted and the Ngwane regarded the Hlubi as their servants.⁴⁷⁷

In this area, the Ngwane killed the inkosi of the Hlubi and scattered his people. Turning to the south, the Ngwane then cut their way through the Bhele chiefdoms and made their way to the upper Thukela region. In this area, they expelled the Zizi inhabitants and they re-establish themselves.⁴⁷⁸ In front of them, numbers of displaced Hlubi, Bhele and Zizi made their way southwards through upland Natal and across the Mzimkhulu, in turn ejecting peoples like the Thuli whom they found in their way.⁴⁷⁹ Some of these refugees remained in the Mzimkhulu-Mzimvubu region; others continued southward to find protection among the Gcaleka Xhosa.⁴⁸⁰

The Ngwane was not immune from the Shakan wars and around the time when Shaka defeated Zwide and laid claim to sole authority in the northern Nguni-speaking region, Matiwane realised that he could no longer hold his ground. He decided to preserve his power by relocating it.⁴⁸¹ During this period, like any other clan who is at war, they became exhausted with no food supplies, and nothing to start gardens with and they continued to live by stealing from others.⁴⁸²

⁴⁷⁶ A.T. Bryant: *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal*, p. 138.

⁴⁷⁷ J. Peires: "Matiwane's Road to Mbholompo: A Reprieve for the Mfecane?" in C Hamilton (ed.): *The Mfecane aftermath: reconstructive debates in Southern African History*, p. 217.

⁴⁷⁸ A.T. Bryant: *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal*, pp. 138-9.

⁴⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 357-8.

⁴⁸⁰ J. Wright: *The Dynamics of Power and conflict in the Thukela-Mzimkhulu Region in the late 18th and early 19th centuries: a critical reconstruction* (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Witwatersrand, 1990), p. 97; A.T. Bryant: *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal*, pp. 150, 347, 358.

⁴⁸¹ J. Peires: "Matiwane's Road to Mbholompo: A Reprieve forth Mfecane?" in C Hamilton (ed.): *The Mfecane aftermath: reconstructive debates in Southern African History*, p. 218.

⁴⁸² N.J. van Warmelo: *History of Matiwane and AmaNgwane Tribe*, p. 10.

Many battles were fought by this clan and these include their fight with Mzilikazi's Ndebele people, with the Hlubi and a failed attempt on the Moshoeshoe's of Thaba Bosiu. After this battle, they crossed the Orange River into Thembuland. Matiwane's great days ended when he was caught by King Dingane of the Zulu and was killed. However, his son, Zikhali, managed to escape to Swaziland and pleaded for his safety at King Sobhuza's court. Zikhali later returned to Zululand and wanted freedom from King Mpande who was an Inkosi during that time. When he was granted freedom, he left with his supporters to Mont-aux- Sources.⁴⁸³

The second attack began in about 1820 by the Thembu of the lower Mzinyathi-Thukela region.⁴⁸⁴ After resisting a Zulu attack, the Thembu, under their inkosi, Ngoza kaMkhubukeli decided to seek safety in flight. They crossed the Thukela moving southwards through the Natal midlands and in the process killing and plundering and destroying. They then made their way through Mzimvubu into the territory of the Mpondo. After an initial warm reception, the Thembu under Ngoza were attacked by Faku and fell apart.⁴⁸⁵ Some remained in the vicinity; others eventually made their way to the Zulu state and gave their allegiance to Emperor Shaka.⁴⁸⁶

The third was started across Natal in about 1821 by the Mchunu under Macingwane kaJama.⁴⁸⁷ The Mchunu territory bordered on the east of the region abandoned by the Thembu. After the flight of the Thembu, the Mchunu too fled southwards to escape the threat of the Zulu attack.⁴⁸⁸ The Mchunu crossed the Thukela and forced their way through the chiefdoms of the midlands along a route that took them a little to the east of that followed by the Thembu. On reaching the Mzimkhulu River in the vicinity of what is now Creighton, they halted and began to settle themselves. A period later they were attacked by a Zulu army, pursued to Nsikeni hill near what is now Swartberg, and at this time they were divided into groups. Macingwane himself, with a small following, managed to escape, but, while making his way back to the Zulu state, where he intended to cast himself on Emperor Shaka's mercy, he was killed by cannibals. A

⁴⁸³ M. Ngubane: Sources of Succession disputes in respect of ubukhosi/ chieftainship with regard to the Cele and amaNgwane chiefdoms, KwaZulu-Natal, p. 99.

⁴⁸⁴ A.T. Bryant: Olden Times in Zululand and Natal, p. 253.

⁴⁸⁵ T. Mbele and G. Houston: The History of Traditional Leadership in KwaZulu-Natal Province, p. 42.

⁴⁸⁶ A.T. Bryant: Olden Times in Zululand and Natal, pp. 253-8.

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid, p. 267.

⁴⁸⁸ T. Mbele and G. Houston: The History of Traditional Leadership in KwaZulu-Natal Province, p. 42; A.T. Bryant: Olden Times in Zululand and Natal, p. 268.

number of his adherents, including some of his sons, eventually reached the Zulu state and submitted to Emperor Shaka.⁴⁸⁹

The fourth attack was that of a confederacy of the Dunge, Fuze, Nyamvini and, for a while, Bombo chiefdoms from the upper Mvoti region, together with two Nhlanguwini chiefdoms from the middle Thukela and the Memela from the Ndaka river. These chiefdoms were left exposed to Zulu attacks by the flight of the Thembu and Mchunu. It is important to state that these chiefdoms had allied before their attack to force their way through the chiefdoms which barred their way to the south. Shortly after the flight of the Mchunu, the confederates struck out along a nearly similar route. After fighting their way to the Mkhomazi river, they split up, with the Nhlanguwini and Memela continuing southwards across the Mzimkhulu, while the rest retraced their steps to the territories which they had formerly occupied.⁴⁹⁰

The devastations of the Ngwane, Bhele, Thembu, Mchunu, and confederacy between about 1818 and 1821 left most of inland Natal a howling wilderness. Behind them, according to Bryant, came the armies of Emperor Shaka.⁴⁹¹ In about 1821, a Zulu force attacked the chiefdoms on the south bank of the Thukela from Ntunjambili mountain (near what is now Kranskop) to about the confluence of the Thukela and Mpofana.⁴⁹² At much the same time Zulu forces destroyed the chiefdoms of the lower Mngeni and lower Mkhomazi regions. In 1822 Shaka launched an expedition to attack the Ngwane, who had established themselves on the upper Thukela some four years before and drove them over the Drakensberg onto the highveld.⁴⁹³ In the same year, the Zulu devastated most of the middle and lower Mvoti valley. A little later they made another attack on the chiefdoms of this region.⁴⁹⁴ By the time the first white traders arrived on the scene in 1824, the devastation of Natal was complete.⁴⁹⁵

After the defeat of the Mthethwa by the Ndwandwe, the Zulu clan at the time of Shaka, facing imminent destruction at the hands of King Zwide's forces, hurriedly sought to force into existence a defensive alliance of the chiefdoms south. In the process, they extended the area which they dominated, directly or indirectly, southwards to the Thukela valley. In the south-

⁴⁸⁹ A.T. Bryant: *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal*, pp. 267-72.

⁴⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 376-80, 409, 491, 551.

⁴⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹² J. Wright: 'A. T. Bryant and 'The Wars of Shaka', *History in Africa*, Vol. 18 (1991), pp. 409-425

⁴⁹³ A.T. Bryant: *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal*, pp. 139-40, 557

⁴⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 537, 538-40, 545, 552-3, 554.

⁴⁹⁵ J. Wright: 'A. T. Bryant and the 'Wars of Shaka', *History in Africa*, Vol. 18 (1991), p. 412.

east, the Zulu forces subordinated the Qwabe chiefdom to Zulu rule. They incorporated Qwabe men into Zulu regiments. In the south, the Zulu wanted to subordinate the large Mchunu chiefdom but failed when the Mchunu migrated to the Thukela and re-established themselves in the region of the Mvoti.

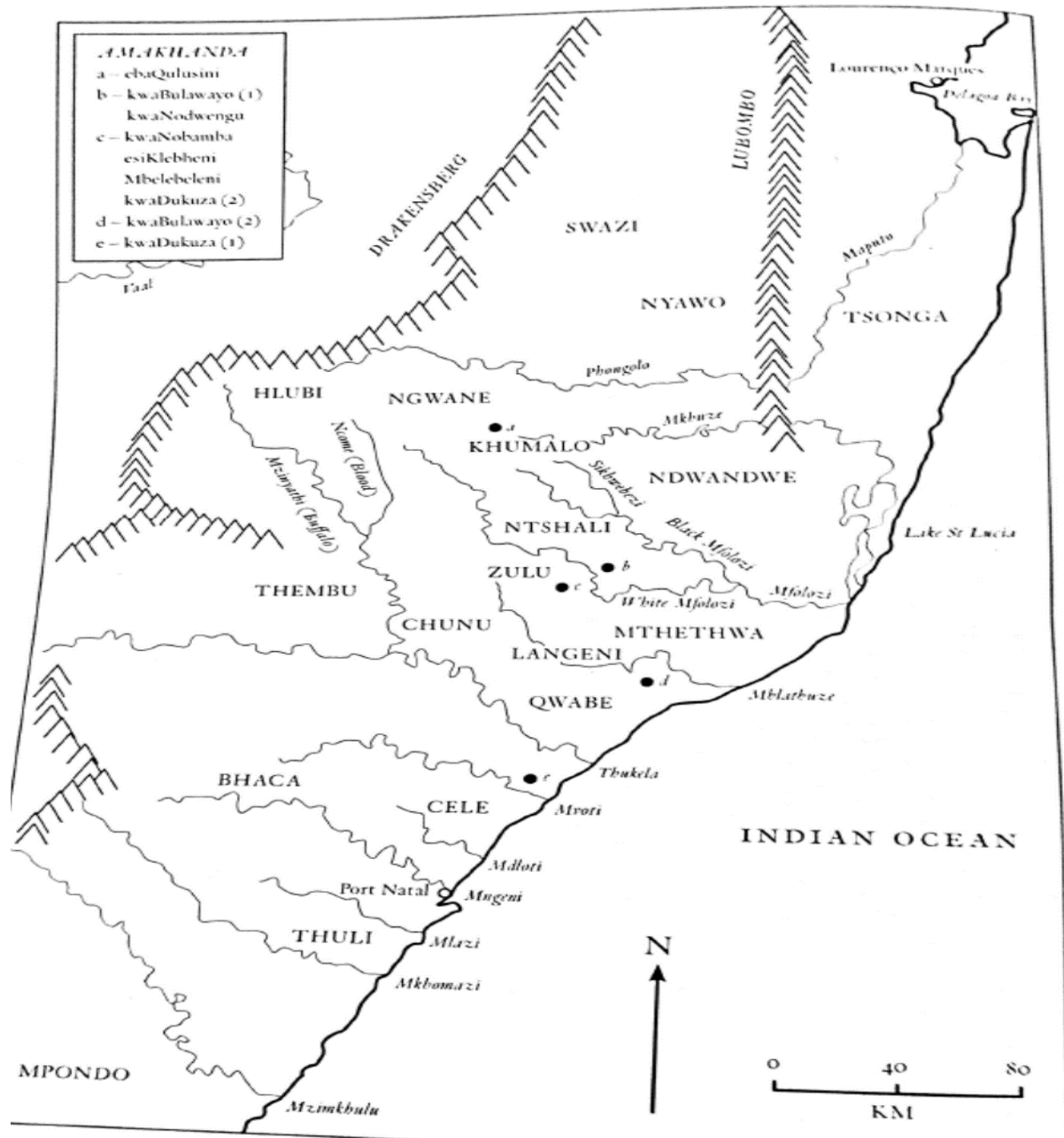


Figure 3: This map shows the confederacies that were found in the mid-Thukela and in the coastal area that were later assimilated into Zulu by Emperor Shaka. It is important to state that the map only shows those confederacies that were dominant in the region.

5.3. THE EFFECTS OF EMPEROR SHAKA'S RISE TO THE ZULU THRONE

The installation of Shaka inaugurated a new period of rapid political change and sharply intensified conflict in the mid-White Mfolozi region. Hamilton argues that Emperor Shaka introduced a new military imperative into the western reaches of Dingiswayo's domain. She further argues that Shaka was required 'both to remodel the existing military structures along the lines of the Mthethwa army, and to expand the strength of the armed forces at his disposal.'⁴⁹⁶ To secure his position, he sought to restructure the Zulu clan's *amabutho* system.⁴⁹⁷ As discussed in previous chapters, the reorganisation and expansion of *amabutho* provided Emperor Shaka with the military means to begin bringing neighbouring chiefdoms under Zulu domination.

5.4. THE INCORPORATION OF THE MID-THUKELA VALLEY CHIEFDOMS

The incorporation into Zulu state of the mid-Thukela chiefdoms such as the eMbo, Ngcolosi, Ngcobo happened earlier than the coastal chiefdoms. It is a deniable fact that the period of conquest and incorporation by the Zulu, saw the Zulu state and its *amabutho* undergoing an extensive and repaid expansion. As the number of regiments expanded, the need for cattle also expanded. Bryant also argues that the need for cattle was also aggravated by the drought and famine known as *indlala kamadlathule*.⁴⁹⁸ At this time, the Zulu forces could not move to the north-east direction not only because the territory to the north-east was poor cattle country but they feared the threat posed by King Zwibe of the Ndwandwe. The only option for Zulu forces was to move southward and continue with the raiding of cattle process.

The expansion of Zulu control over the eMbo and the Ngcolosi was easily realised as both chiefdoms submitted to Zulu rule without resistance.⁴⁹⁹ The Ngcobo lineage sections, the Nyuswa, sections of the Qadi, Langeni, Ngongoma, Fuze and Wosiyana resisted Emperor Shaka's overrule.⁵⁰⁰ These chiefdoms were finally forced to surrender and in the process, some of them opted to flee. The response of the Nyuswa was to take to flight, but near the Thukela

⁴⁹⁶ C.A. Hamilton: Ideology, Oral Tradition and the struggle for power in the early Zulu Kingdom (unpublished MA dissertation, University of Witwatersrand, 1986), pp. 335.

⁴⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁸ A.T. Bryant: Olden Times in Zululand and Natal, pp. 63-88.

⁴⁹⁹ J. Wright: The Dynamics of Power and conflict in the Thukela-Mzimkhulu Region in the late 18th and early 19th centuries: a critical reconstruction (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Witwatersrand, 1990), p. 135.

⁵⁰⁰ C.A. Hamilton: 'Ideology, oral tradition and the struggle for power in the early Zulu kingdom', (Unpu. M.A. Dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 1986), p. 476.

they were caught by a Zulu force which put their chief to death and seized their cattle. After this, the Nyuswa were placed by Shaka under the authority of the Mkhize inkosi, Zihlandlo.⁵⁰¹ The Qadi remained in their territory and the Ngcobo made their submission to the *amakhosi* who had paid allegiance to Shaka. The Langeni fled up the Thukela to the Bomvu chiefdom⁵⁰² and the Wosiyana to an undetermined area across the Thukela.⁵⁰³ Other Ngcobo sections, the Ngongoma broke into two groups, one of which took refuge with the Qadi, and the other with the related Fuze southwards near the Mvoti River.⁵⁰⁴ All the chiefdoms that remained were gathered and placed under Zihlandlo's authority.

After the Zulu had subordinated the polities on the north side of the Thukela River, they began the process of seizing cattle from the small chiefdoms which occupied the opposite bank of the river.⁵⁰⁵ Most of the cattle collected from these chiefdoms were kept by Zihlandlo while some were sent to Emperor Shaka. As a result of cattle raiding around the Thukela River, a Zulu *ikhanda* was established to keep this herd of cattle. The name of the *ikhanda* was iNtonteleni. In this *ikhanda*, large royal herds were based. This *ikhanda* was operated by local Nyuswa men. It appears that several cattle posts were also erected in the area, although it cannot be established exactly when in the reign of Shaka they were built. One of these was the Mnkangala cattle post, which Isaac described as having over three thousand bullocks.⁵⁰⁶

The Mkhize chiefdom of Inkosi Zihlandlo was encouraged to continue the process of expanding the territory under his control, although now in Shaka's name rather than his own.⁵⁰⁷ The Mkhize forces crossed to the southern bank of the Thukela and proceeded to bring under Zihlandlo's authority the chiefdoms which had recently been raided by the Zulu. By early 1820, the emerging Zulu state had established indirect domination over the territory of south-western and southern borders which extended from Mzinyathi south-eastward between the Thukela and

⁵⁰¹ A.T. Bryant: Olden Times in Zululand and Natal, p. 482.

⁵⁰² JSA, vol. 2, evidence of Madikane, pp. 60-61.; A.T. Bryant: Olden Times in Zululand and Natal, p. 490.

⁵⁰³ A.T. Bryant: Olden Times in Zululand and Natal, p. 497.

⁵⁰⁴ Ibid, p. 490.

⁵⁰⁵ J. Wright: The Dynamics of Power and conflict in the Thukela-Mzimkhulu Region in the late 18th and early 19th centuries: a critical reconstruction (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Witwatersrand, 1990), p. 231.

⁵⁰⁶ J.S.A., Vol .2, p. 249, evidence of Mayinga. Also see K.C., Essay Competition, 1942, 'Some Historical Records of Places' by S. Mbhele, p. 2, and 'Tribal History 1 by Mrs. Andrina.

⁵⁰⁷ J. Wright: The Dynamics of Power and conflict in the Thukela-Mzimkhulu Region in the late 18th and early 19th centuries: a critical reconstruction (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Witwatersrand, 1990), p. 232.

Mvoti rivers to the coastal areas. What is noticeable is that the Zulu authority over this region was not contested.⁵⁰⁸

5.4.1. THE CONQUEST OF THE MCHUNU CHIEFDOM

The first chiefdom to be intimidated by the Zulu was that of the Mchunu. The Mchunu were for some time engaged in a process of territorial expansion and through this process, they represented a potentially serious threat to Zulu interests in the south. The Mchunu people were able to avoid the fate of the Qwabe by crossing the Thukela River to the upper Mvoti region. Unlike the Mchunu, the Nyuswa tried to resist but were defeated by the Zulu force sent against them. In the west where the former Mchunu people resided, the Mthembu under the leadership of Ngoza were trying to expand and sought to maintain their independence by shifting westward across the lower Mzinyathi.⁵⁰⁹

The Mchunu chiefdom was not driven out by the Zulu.⁵¹⁰ It moved off to avoid being made tributary to the growing Zulu state. They were in fear that the future of their political leadership was threatened. The Mchunu expansion northwards blocked the Mthethwa confederacy expansion. The emergent of the Zulu chiefdom threatened Mchunu independence in the region. The Mchunu left the area seeking to establish their power between the middle of Mkhomazi and the Mzimkhulu.⁵¹¹ Their migration was undertaken principally to preserve their political independence from the threat it posed by a rising formidable new Zulu power.

The migration of the Mchunu from the territory between Nsuze and the Mzinyathi left the way clear for the Zulu to extend their domination over the region. In the process of doing so, they came up for the first time against the Mthembu chiefdom, which was located on the east bank of the lower Mzinyathi upstream of the Qhudeneni range.⁵¹² The Mthembu had been tributary to the Buthelezi to the east until the defeat of the Buthelezi by Emperor Shaka.⁵¹³ The Buthelezi were first subjected to the Mthethwa and then to the Zulu rule. When Emperor Shaka turns his attention to the Mthembu chiefdom, they were under the leadership of their inkosi, Ngoza

⁵⁰⁸ J. Wright: 'Political Transformations in the Thukela-Mzimkhulu Region of Natal in the late 18th and early 19th centuries', *Omalu Sy Anio*, 1994, 33-36, p. 195.

⁵⁰⁹ C.A. Hamilton: Ideology, Oral Tradition and the struggle for power in the early Zulu Kingdom (unpublished MA dissertation, University of Witwatersrand, 1986), pp. 160-175.

⁵¹⁰ A.T. Bryant: Olden Times in Zululand and Natal, p. 267.

⁵¹¹ J. Wright: 'Political Transformations in the Thukela-Mzimkhulu Region of Natal in the late 18th and early 19th centuries', *Omalu Sy Anio*, 1994, 33-36, p. 195.

⁵¹² J.S.A, Vol. 1, pp. 281-283, evidence of Lugubhu J.S.A, vol. 1, pp. 297-298, evidence of Lunguza.

⁵¹³ J. Bird (ed.): Annals of Natal, vol. 1, p. 143.

kaMkhubukeli. The groups that are recorded as having tendered their allegiance to Ngoza are the Sithole and sections of the Mbatha which had been displaced from the White Mfolozi region by the expansion of the Mthethwa and the Zulu rules.⁵¹⁴

Emperor Shaka aimed to drive away chiefdoms which he regarded as posing a threat to the stability of the region. Emperor Shaka sought to establish his authority over the Thembu people who escaped the domination by the Zulu and Ngwane by crossing southwards across the Mzinyathi. To establish his authority over the region, Emperor Shaka set up Jobe of the Sithole as a ruler of a polity.⁵¹⁵ In the South of the Zululand, Emperor Shaka set up Zihlandlo as the ruler of the Mkhize chiefdom. Through Emperor Shaka's backup, Zihlandlo expanded the area under his authority southward across the Thukela River to Mvoti.⁵¹⁶

The migration of the Mchunu across the Thukela River meant that the only independent chiefdoms in the Thukela valley upstream of the Qwabe was the Mkhize chiefdom. The Mkhize chiefdom was located upstream of the Ngcobo on the northern side of the Thukela. During Zihlandlo's reign in the early 19th century, the Mkhize were a powerful chiefdom.⁵¹⁷ The Mkhize seem to have been actively trying to establish their domination over certain of their neighbours by Zihlandlo's time. According to Bryant, the Somi, across the Thukela, were tributary to Zihlandlo.⁵¹⁸ Through their inkosi, the Mkhize chiefdom was expanding at the expense of its neighbours.

As an inkosi of the Mkhize chiefdom, Zihlandlo subordinated various polities in the mid-Thukela region in the period before the destruction of his chiefdom by the Zulu. Most of the events when Zihlandlo brought various chiefdoms under his authority took place during the reign of Shaka when the Mkhize chiefdom was expanding rapidly as a client polity of the Zulu state, but others may well have occurred during the pre-Shakan period of Mkhize expansion. Another group that was subordinated by Zihlandlo before the rise of the Zulu power was the Ximba which had previously formed part of the Mchunu chiefdom.⁵¹⁹ As the Mkhize chiefdom

⁵¹⁴ J.S.A, vol. 1, pp. 281-290, evidence of Lugubhu.

⁵¹⁵ C.A. Hamilton: Ideology, Oral Tradition and the struggle for power in the early Zulu Kingdom (unpublished MA dissertation, University of Witwatersrand, 1986), pp. 253-255.

⁵¹⁶ J. Wright: The Dynamics of Power and conflict in the Thukela-Mzimkhulu Region in the late 18th and early 19th centuries: a critical reconstruction (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Witwatersrand, 1990), pp. 247-248.

⁵¹⁷ A.T. Bryant: A History of the Zulu and Neighbouring Tribes, p. 50.

⁵¹⁸ A.T. Bryant: Olden Times in Zululand and Natal, p. 267.

⁵¹⁹ Ibid, p. 262.

expanded the Mchunu were also expanding and this led to them confronting each other. As a result of the confrontation, the two chiefdoms fought each other in two cases.⁵²⁰ The Mchunu chiefdom was very powerful during the reign of Macingwane. As the leader of the Mchunu clan, Macingwane subordinated several clans, other groups, at this time.⁵²¹

5.5. THE INCORPORATION OF THE COASTAL CHIEFDOMS SOUTH OF THE THUKELA RIVER

The eastern coastlands of Southeast Africa, in the area known as Zululand and Natal, is one of the most attractive places for human settlement in the whole of Southern Africa. From a hot and steamy strip along the coast itself, the land rises through a series of terraces to the mountain of the Drakensberg which separate the coastlands from the interior plateau. Winds from the Indian Ocean bring heavy rains in the summer months and numerous rivers and streams run down from the mountains to the sea. The warm waters of the Indian Ocean modify the climate and the area is spared the full bitterness of the southern winters, except on the highest plateau where the snow is not uncommon in July and August. In this area where the rich grass provides magnificent grazing and the fertile valley soil yield the biggest crops in all South Africa, numerous chiefdoms of the Nguni had their homes.

In the south of the lower Thukela, the Cele chiefdom had dominated the region of the lower Mvoti region for several decades. The Mkhize submitted to Emperor Shaka overlordship without any resistance. Under the leadership of Magaye who was placed in the chiefship by Emperor Shaka, the Cele were required to extend their domination over numerous smaller chiefdoms in the coastlands which were a force to acknowledge Emperor Shaka's supremacy.⁵²² To help Magaye fasten his conquest on behalf of the Zulu, Emperor supplied him with the *iZiyendane* regiment.⁵²³ Within a short space of time, the regiment was able to separate the Thuli paramountcy in the lower Mngeni, Mkhomazi area. In the remnants of the

⁵²⁰ JSA, vol. 3, evidence of Mbokodo, pp. 12, 18.

⁵²¹ M.M. Fuze: *The Black People from whence they came*, pp. 15-23, 52-3.

⁵²² J. Wright: 'Political Transformations in the Thukela-Mzimkhulu Region of Natal in the late 18th and early 19th centuries', *Omalu Sy Anio*, 1994, 33-36, p. 195.

⁵²³ JSA, vol. 3, evidence of Melaphi, p. 79.

Thuli chiefdom, Emperor Shaka appointed Mathubane as its ruler. Mathubane belonged to one of the Thuli chiefdom's junior sections.⁵²⁴

The Cele had previously occupied an area north of the Thukela, between the Nyuswa and the Qwabe. The Qwabe expansion of the later eighteenth century squeezed out first the Thuli and later the Cele. As a result of this, the Thuli and the Cele crossed into Natal. It is of importance to mention that both the Cele and Thuli migrated not as refugees, but as powerful chiefdoms, as they were able to crush the resistance of the groups they found already living in the area. It is important to mention that out of the two groups, the Thuli paramount which was established first in Natal was highly heterogeneous in composition. The raiding Thuli was made up of members of the Thuli ruling lineage, several unrelated lineages such as the Khwela, Mbili and a Cele section from amongst the original inhabitants which they found in Natal. The traditions record that the Thuli incorporated sections of the Thembu, Jali, Vangane, Kanyawo and Nqondo and drove out many others.

When they arrived in Natal, the Thuli ruling lineage and its junior branches settled separately along the coastal plain between the Mngeni and Mlazi rivers. They allowed those subordinate lineages which were not linked to the Thuli to settle amongst and around the Thukela River and some as far as the Mzimkulu. It is important to posit that no centralized *umkhosi* was held by the Thuli ruling lineage. The Thuli polity was somehow different from the Qwabe in the north of the Thukela River. The Thuli polity was at best a loose confederation of lineages, largely unrelated, of disparate origins and with different cultural identities. This loose confederation of lineages by the Thuli allowed the Cele when they arrived in Natal to impose their dominance over the northern coastal plain, and the lineages which they found there.⁵²⁵

Under the leadership of Mkhokheleli, the Cele first settled in an area to the north of the Thuli establishments. In this area, they built their capital between the Nonoti and Mdloti Rivers.⁵²⁶ There is a lacuna in historical knowledge as to whether did the Thuli acknowledged Cele overrule before the arrival of the Zulu. One can determine that the Thuli acknowledged the presence of the Cele in the area because the two groups interacted closely. There was also

⁵²⁴ J. Wright: The Dynamics of Power and conflict in the Thukela-Mzimkhulu Region in the late 18th and early 19th centuries: a critical reconstruction (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Witwatersrand, 1990), pp. 252-266.

⁵²⁵ John Wright: 'The Thuli and Cele paramountcies in the coastlands of Natal, c. 1770–c. 1820', *Southern African Humanities*, Vol. 21, p. 184.

⁵²⁶ J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 74, evidence of Melapi.

intermarriage between the Cele ruling lineage and one of the Thuli lineages which led to the Thuli being spoken of as *abalande* to the Cele i.e. being of the wife's family.⁵²⁷

In this area, the Cele were able to extend their authority Cele over a number of the lineages that settled in Natal, including the Ndlovu, Nghathi, Ngangeni, Ntshangase, Nxamalala, Nhloko, Somi and Hlongwa, and the Mbili and Ndelu of the Thuli confederacy.⁵²⁸ Through incorporating this way groups of widely disparate origins, the Cele paramountcy was also a heterogeneous polity as the Thuli.

5.5.1. THE INCORPORATION OF THE HLONGWA AND NTSHINGA CHIEFDOMS

The Ntshinga occupied the flat country about the middle Mvoti below the emaNgangeni, under their Inkosi, Mangcuku, son of Jele; while opposite the emaNgangeni on the southern banks of the river settled the Hlongwa, governed by their Inkosi, Zwebu. A few years previous to the Shakan invasion, these Hlongwa had been joined by another branch of their family, previously resident under their Inkosi, Mjulela, near the Thukela, where the Mpisi stream enters it, whence they were expelled by Sihayo, the Nyuswa Inkosi over the river.⁵²⁹

All these chiefdoms, together with the emaNgangeni, the Mbhidamkono and others, now met with the same fate at the same time. The *amaZulu* were upon them. Leaving their cattle in the enemy's hands, they saved themselves by making, headlong dash for the south and safety. Some of the Hlongwa people got so far as the Mzimkhulu; but upon finding things there already much more lively than they had anticipated, after seeing Novanywa, the younger surviving son of Mancuku, fall in the fray (probably with some local chiefdoms) on the banks of the Mzimkhulu, they considered it wiser to retrace their steps to the more promising neighbourhood of the Mzumbe. Here they came across their comrades in flight, the Ntshinga, and with the object of conquering for themselves a new country, the two clans united and attacked the Luthuli resident about the Mkhomazi under the headman, Magela, son of Nkoyongo. Frustrated in their hopes for victory, they returned somewhat dejected to their home

⁵²⁷ J.S.A., Vol. 3, pp. 30, 33, evidence of Mbovu.

⁵²⁸ J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 33, evidence of Mbovu; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 69, evidence of Mageza

⁵²⁹ A.T. Bryant: A History of the Zulu and Neighbouring Tribes, p. 79.

on the Mzumbe River, where they enjoyed a sojourn of two or three seasons without molestation.⁵³⁰

According to them to evade Emperor Shaka's commands was like dodging the angel of death himself and as vain. Almost gradually he had worked his way to the south, step on down or conquering all as he went, and at last his hand fell for the second time on the combined Ntshinga and Hlongwa clans. Many escaped as before by a timely flight. After aimlessly wandering awhile, they followed the example of so many others and sought (c.1825) the surer protection of the white immigrants, offering themselves as subjects to Fynn, under whom they spent another few years, the Hlongwa at the Mbhokodweni River and the Ntshinga at the Lovu River.⁵³¹

5.5.2. THE INCORPORATION OF THE ENYWAMVWINI CHIEFDOM

Immediately above the Bombo, on the southern side of the Mvoti, dwelt the eNywamvwini, about the Sikhotho stream. Their Inkosi was Mkhaliphi, and they were a minor branch of the Fuze section of the great Ngcobo chiefdom. It was early in the year 1816 that these people were startled by a great multitude of emigrants passing hurriedly through their land on their way to the south - it was the emaChunwini in their flight from the Zulu menace. This was the first disturbing event that opened the eyes of the eNywamvwini and neighbouring chiefs to the danger of their position, with the result that a few months later, they combined and were themselves following in the tracks of the emaChunwini.⁵³²

Mkhaliphi was one of the leaders of the migrating confederacy, but upon reaching the Mkhomazi he changed his mind and returned home. It had to happen that, just at the period of the return of the eNywamvwini, Zihlandlo, the eMbo inkosi, from over the Thukela, was conducting a small military undertaking of his own along the Thukela valley. Indeed, he had already penetrated so far as to reach and devastate the country of the very next-door neighbours, the Dunge, who, along with the eNywamvwini, had but just returned from their abortive flight to the south. Rather than involve himself in the like disaster, Mkhaliphi hastened to proclaim himself (c. 1819) the lifelong friend and faithful ally of the eMbo conqueror. This tactful move ensured for the eNywamvwini some degree of present security, but it also involved them in corresponding responsibilities; and when, some years later (c. 1832), Zihlandlo was put to

⁵³⁰ Ibid.

⁵³¹ A.T. Bryant: A History of the Zulu and Neighbouring Tribes, p. 79.

⁵³² Ibid, pp. 81-82.

death and the eMbo chiefdom to flight by the Zulu king, Dingane, MkhaliPhi and his handful of subjects had to participate in the common misfortune.⁵³³

Whilst the eMbo stopped short at the Mkhomazi river, the eNywamvini pushed on ahead and amalgamated themselves with the motley horde of Zelemu, Wushe and others (afterwards comprised under the Zulu nickname, *amaBhaca*) who had assembled beyond the Mzimkhulu, firstly, under Madikane, now under his son Ncaphayi. The news of Dingane's death sufficed to bring back the eNywamvini towards home again; but they proceeded no further than the Mzinto river, whence they returned to the Mzombe, where they now are under Mgomeni, son of Ndimdwane son of MkhaliPhi, son of Nombuya. The small Sani clan, under Jiji, son of Mthala, living in MkhaliPhi's territory, was probably closely related to these eNywamvini Ngcobo, and it passed through the same historical vicissitudes as they during the Shakan period.⁵³⁴

5.5.3. THE INCORPORATION OF THE CELE

In 1811 during King Dingiswayo Mthethwa's years, the Cele were still united under the common Inkosi Dibandlela son of Mkhokheleli. From Nonoti the Cele land extended southward along the coast as far as the Thongathi River. Inkosi Dibandlela had the misfortune to behold his sons contending over succession while he was amongst them. His sons, Magaye and Mande fought over heirship. The Cele were a large chiefdom divided into several sections each bearing its cognomen, for instance, the emaDimeni or Shangase, emaNdlanzini.⁵³⁵

When Shaka ascended to the Zulu throne in 1816, the Cele were under the leadership of Mkhokheleli's son, Inkosi Dibandlela. This was a period of much instability for the Cele paramountcy. After conquering the Qwabe chiefdom, Emperor Shaka moved quickly to bring neighbouring chiefdoms under his control. At this time, Shaka turned his attention to the other chiefdoms of the coastal and lower Thukela valley. This was of huge concern for Inkosi Dibandlela as he has seen how Shaka dealt with those who were trying to oppose the Zulu domination.⁵³⁶

⁵³³ Ibid.

⁵³⁴ A.T. Bryant: A History of the Zulu and Neighbouring Tribes, pp. 81-82.

⁵³⁵ M. Ngubane: Succession dispute, p. 84.

⁵³⁶ J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 33, evidence of Mbovu; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 72, evidence of Mageza.

During this period Inkosi Dibandlela formerly resided on the uMvoti, both banks, near the sea, from Thongathi to the Nonoti River to about 12 miles inland. The Cele originally included the polities under Magidigidi and Gxabhashe, who were heads of their sections. Mande, the father of Gxabhashe and Magaye, the father of Magidigidi, were then the heads of these sections.⁵³⁷ Magaye was then nominated to succeed his father, Dibandlela, but Mande was the oldest. During their father's lifetime, there were constant wars for succession that took place between the two brothers. Magaye ultimately succeeded.⁵³⁸

According to Mageza, one of Stuart's Cele informants, Inkosi Dibandlela was convinced that submission to Zulu hegemony was the only possible course if the Cele patrimony was to survive intact. He prepared to submit himself. Eschewing *ubukhosi* –the outward signs of kingship, such as an army or an establishment of girls along the lines of the *izigodlo* – i.e indicated his willingness to accept Zulu expansion on the Cele polity is generally represented in Cele oral history in terms of the succession dispute which followed, although the traditions, do suggest some of the wider issues supposedly Dibandlela's heir designate who was brought up amongst the Qwabe, and Mande, his rival, revolved around the appropriate Cele response to the Zulu, and more particularly on the desirability of paying an extremely large cattle tribute demand by the latter.⁵³⁹

The heir of Inkosi Dibandlela, Mande was of a different view than his father. He was of the view that to oppose the Zulu expansion over the Cele chiefdom in the south of the Thukela river would serve the best interests of the Qwabe. He rejected Shaka's idea of incorporating the Cele because he felt that the acceptance of Zulu hegemony on the terms proposed by Shaka would drastically erode the material basis of Cele power. As a result, Mande boldly rejected Zulu aspirations south of the Thukela, insulting Shaka as the *Mtungwana* who wears the shell of the *intongwane* fruit as a penis-cover.⁵⁴⁰

Other sources have argued that Emperor Shaka decided to assassinate Mande because on one occasion Shaka was away from home and hungry. He sent his messengers, first of all to Mande, demanding not solely his allegiance, not even to Magaye but himself, and further asked him to present selected cows to him that he may with his army eat and gain strength, if need be, to

⁵³⁷ J. Bird: Annals of Natal, p. 124.

⁵³⁸ J. Bird: Annals of Natal, pp. 124-125.

⁵³⁹ J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 72, evidence of Mageza; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 33, evidence of Mbovu.

⁵⁴⁰ J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 72, evidence of Mageza.

fight. Instead, Mande pointed to a bony dog and addressed the messengers, saying that was their food and they must take it and go.⁵⁴¹ Having taken due notice of this bold insult, the Zulu messengers proceeded to Magaye and repeated the same demand. Magaye in consultation with his councillors advised him not to resist Emperor Shaka's request. Magaye accepted submission to Emperor Shaka. Clever enough to learn from past mistakes, Magaye entertained the royal emissaries with quite sumptuous hospitality and responded to their demands after which they went home to report to Emperor Shaka. Soon afterwards, Emperor Shaka arrived and was met by Magaye and his army with such a lavish supply of prime beef.⁵⁴²

Emperor Shaka sent an army to the direction of Magaye, he met it with an offer of oxen and was formally accepted as a Zulu tributary. Magaye's rival, Mande was attacked and his cattle were taken and his people were compelled to take refuge in the forest on the coast between the Thongathi and uMvoti Rivers.⁵⁴³ Mande fearing for his own life fled and left behind his herds of fine cattle in the enemy's hands at the price of his audacity. Mande went to stay in the bush. His stay in the bush for two years proved eminently endurable, thanks to the herds of Magaye and his people so conveniently grazing just beyond the Thongathi River and from which Mande liberally helped himself.

When Mande was faced with real famine he then requested his mortal foe Magaye to plead with Emperor Shaka on his behalf and this Magaye generously did, and in response, King Shaka willingly consented that the offending brother, should now be permitted to come out and reoccupy his former place.⁵⁴⁴ After one of his returns from the bush and having securely re-established himself on the open veld, then suddenly Emperor Shaka's messengers reappeared in force and their mission was to kill Mande, "a dog". After his death, his people became the subject of Magaye.⁵⁴⁵

This faction among the Cele as whether to voluntarily submit to Emperor Shaka or not led to the division among the Cele of Dibandlela. An impending Zulu attack caused a split in the Cele ruling group, with the inkosi, Dibandlela, advocating voluntary submission to the Zulu, and an opposition group, led by one of his sons, Mande, favouring a policy of resistance.⁵⁴⁶ Living in

⁵⁴¹ A.T. Bryant: *The History of the Zulu and Neighbouring Tribes*, p. 85.

⁵⁴² *Ibid*, pp. 85-86.

⁵⁴³ J. Bird: *Annals of Natal*, pp. 124-125.

⁵⁴⁴ A.T. Bryant: *A History of the Zulu and neighbouring tribes*, p. 86.

⁵⁴⁵ *Ibid*.

⁵⁴⁶ J.S.A., Vol. 1, pp. 115-116 evidence of Dinya.

this desperation, Dibandlela went to fetch Magaye from his mother's people, the Qwabe, where he had been raised.⁵⁴⁷ Magaye was suddenly promoted as the rightful heir of the Cele. He was nominated as inkosi Dibandlela's successor.⁵⁴⁸ As the call for Mande's position mounted, it was reported to Shaka that the backing he enjoyed was from factions sceptical of Magaye and his Qwabe heritage.⁵⁴⁹

The mounting of the call for Mande's position among the Qwabe led to Shaka intervening in the succession dispute between Mande and Magaye. According to the evidence of Melapi, the struggle for succession between Mande and Magaye began before the advent of the Zulu rule.⁵⁵⁰ The struggle for succession dispute ended only when Shaka intervened on the side of Magaye and put Mande to death.⁵⁵¹ The traditions suggest that Magaye found favour with Shaka because Magaye's mother was a full sister to Nqetho,⁵⁵² who, as described in chapter three, had been elevated by Shaka to the chiefship of the Qwabe chiefdom on the death of Inkosi Phakathwayo. Above that, Magaye had a close personal relationship with Shaka, by whom he was addressed as *umnawe* (younger brother).⁵⁵³

In this area, Magaye was expected to exercise authority on Shaka's behalf over several neighbouring chiefdoms which were subdued, presumably by the iZiyendane.⁵⁵⁴ It is important to state that above this, Magaye was allowed to exercise certain powers of life and death over the people subject to him,⁵⁵⁵ and was permitted to retain control over his fighting men. The names of six of his *amabutho* are known,⁵⁵⁶ and while it is not entirely clear on what basis they were formed, Melapi's reference to the 'young iNjanduna regiment' suggests that they were organized at least in part by age.⁵⁵⁷ The Shakan hegemony in Celeland was that the Cele ruling

⁵⁴⁷ J.S.A., Vol. 1, pp. 115-116 evidence of Dinya.

⁵⁴⁸ J.S.A., Vol. 1, pp. 155-156 evidence of Dinya.

⁵⁴⁹ J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 116, evidence of Dinya.

⁵⁵⁰ J.S.A., vol. 3, p. 78.

⁵⁵¹ C.A. Hamilton: Ideology, Oral Tradition and the struggle for power in the early Zulu Kingdom (unpublished MA dissertation, University of Witwatersrand, 1986), pp. 469-471.

⁵⁵² J.S.A., vol. 1, pp. 97-105.

⁵⁵³ J.S.A., vol. 1, evidence of Dinya, p. 117; J.S.A., vol. 2, evidence of Mandlakazi, p. 192; J.S.A., vol. 3, evidence of Melapi, pp. 72-89.

⁵⁵⁴ Wright: The Dynamics of Power and conflict in the Thukela-Mzimkhulu Region in the late 18th and early 19th centuries: a critical reconstruction (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Witwatersrand, 1990), pp. 257-258.

⁵⁵⁵ JSA, vol. 1, evidence of Dinya, p. 117.

⁵⁵⁶ JSA, vol. 2, evidence of Mageza kaKwefunga, p. 73; JSA, vol. 3, evidence of Melaphi, p. 75.

⁵⁵⁷ JSA, vol. 3, evidence of Melaphi, p. 92

lineage no longer in control of the means of realising surplus directly for their benefit. Rather, they acted as agents on behalf of the Zulu and depended on Zulu military support.

In the north part between the Qwabe and the Cele, the area was inhabited by the Makhanya people. The Makhanya were under the leadership of Duze *kaMnengwa*. The Makhanya people voluntarily submitted to Shaka, who placed them under the rule of Magaye Cele.⁵⁵⁸ In the interior of the Cele in the Mvoti hill, the area was occupied by the Somi. On their first attack by the iZiyendane, the Somi attempted to escape to the south but were surpassed and numbers of them were killed by iZiyendane. Some survivors escaped to the Mkhize chiefdom; others returned with their inkosi to submit to Shaka, who is said to have given him (their inkosi) cattle with which to re-establish himself.⁵⁵⁹

The neighbouring Ngangeni just like the Somi also fled south, leaving most of their cattle to their victors. A section of them fled to join the Thembu under Ngoza south of the Mzimkhulu while others returned with their inkosi and gave their allegiance to Shaka.⁵⁶⁰ It is important to mention that all the men from these polities were taken off as ‘captives’ to be drafted into the Zulu forces by Emperor Shaka.⁵⁶¹ In the Mvoti area, the Maphumulo also voluntarily surrender to Shaka’s forces, who again took off cattle and young men.⁵⁶² The section of the Mseleku people went off southward,⁵⁶³ while some divisions of the associated polities like Hlongwa and Shinga (or Ndelu) did the similar.⁵⁶⁴

Other groups in this region that are said to have broken up by the Zulu forces in the Mvoti region are the Bane, the Nzobe and the Tshibi.⁵⁶⁵ On the south-western and southern borders of the Cele chiefdom, the iZiyendane regiment attacked several other small groups, most of which had been under the authority of Dibandlela. Among them were the Hloko, or Nhloko,

⁵⁵⁸ J. Bird (ed.): *Annals of Natal*, vol. 1, p. 152.

⁵⁵⁹ J.S.A, vol. 2, p. 296, evidence of Maziwana.

⁵⁶⁰ J.S.A, vol. 1, p. 11, evidence of Baleka; J.S.A. vol. 2, p. 296, evidence of Maziwana.

⁵⁶¹ L. Grout’s evidence on Nganga history in his statement to the Harding Commission, published in Natal Govt. Gazette, no. 215, 18 January 1853; A.T. Bryant: *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal*, p. 545.

⁵⁶² J.S.A, vol. 1, p. 11, evidence of Baleka; J.S.A, vol. 2, p. 296, evidence of Maziwana.

⁵⁶³ J.S.A, vol. 1, p. 187, evidence of Jantshi.

⁵⁶⁴ J. Bird (ed.): *Annals of Natal*, vol. 1, pp. 127-131.

⁵⁶⁵ Lewis Grout’s evidence on Nganga history in his statement to the Harding Commission, published in Natal Govt. Gazette, no. 215, 18 January 1853.

the Nkulwini, the Lumba, or Lumbi, the Ndwayana, and a section of the Ndlovini. Some sections of these chiefdoms fled and others were brought under the rule of Magaye Cele.⁵⁶⁶

This ultimately led to the territory dominated by the Cele inkosi to extend from the Thukela to the area of uThongathi.⁵⁶⁷ From the sea to the inland, the Cele territory expanded by forty or fifty kilometres. Inkosi Magaye built his capital, eMdlazi, near the Mhlali River.⁵⁶⁸ To fulfil his mission in the southern region, Emperor Shaka appointed Mbikwana to oversee Zulu interests in the region. Mbikwana was a senior member of the Langeni ruling house and a close relative of the Zulu emperor's on his mother's side. Fynn in his account has posited that when he encountered Mbikwana, he was living some fifteen kilometres north of the Thongathi, and exercised substantial influence in the Cele chiefdom.⁵⁶⁹

With Magaye as his satellite, it meant that Emperor Shaka had been able to establish three satellites in the southern borders. Not like Zihlandlo and Jobe, the other two satellite *amakhosi* set up by Emperor Shaka on the borders of the Zulu state, Magaye had a Zulu *ibutho* quartered in his territory. This was the *iZiyendane*, which, once its attacking operations were over, was established in an *ikhanda* named *eZiyendaneni* near the Mvoti River under the command of Nonzama.⁵⁷⁰

5.5.4. THE INCORPORATION OF THE THULI

The Thuli chiefdom was located at the sources of the Matigulu River. From this region, according to both Thuli and Qwabe traditions, it was pushed across the Thukela by the Qwabe.⁵⁷¹ One of James Stuart's informants, Maziwana states in his testimony that the Thuli migration took place when the senior section of the Thuli was ruled by Myebu, and the subsidiary *amaZuba* section by Dole.⁵⁷² Evidence of both Maziwana and Mcothoyi *kaMnini* indicates that Myebu reigned one generation before his son, Ntaba, who was killed in the time of the Zulu emperor, Shaka.⁵⁷³

⁵⁶⁶ J.S.A, vol. 2, p. 296, evidence of Maziwana; J.S.A, vol. 3, pp. 79-81, evidence of Melaphi.

⁵⁶⁷ J. Stuart and D. McK. Malcolm: The Diary of Henry Francis Fynn, p. 63.

⁵⁶⁸ J.S.A, vol. 3, p. 75, evidence of Melaphi; J.S.A, vol. 2, p.73, evidence of Mageza.

⁵⁶⁹ J. Stuart and D. McK. Malcolm: The Diary of Henry Francis Fynn, pp. 64-65.

⁵⁷⁰ J.S.A, vol. 2, p. 296, evidence of Socwatsha; J.S.A, vol. 3, p. 45, evidence of Mbovu; J.S.A, vol. 1, p. 103, evidence of Dinya; J.S.A, vol. 2, p. 296, evidence of Maziwana.

⁵⁷¹ J.S.A, vol. 2, pp. 282-300, evidence of Maziwana.

⁵⁷² J.S.A, vol. 2, , pp. 275-282, evidence of Maziwana.

⁵⁷³ J.S.A, vol. 2, , pp. 265-283, evidence of Maziwana; J.S.A, vol. 3, pp. 53-59, evidence of Mcothoyi.

The Thuli principally house was numerically larger than that to be found in most of the chiefdoms across the Thukela. This was the case because the Thuli went with several other groups which seem to have recognized at least the nominal authority of their inkosi. The main ones were the *amaMbili*, who seems to have been related to the Thuli, and the *amaKhomo*.⁵⁷⁴ Others were the *amaKhwela*, a section of the Cele, and possibly a section of the *amaNdelu*.⁵⁷⁵ What is confusing is whether these groups had previously been subordinate to the Thuli, or whether they made their submission at the time of the migration, which is not indicated in the evidence. What appears is that the Thuli migrated as a united body under the leadership of the senior inkosi, Myebu.

Evidence indicates that the Cele and Thuli inhabited low-lying and coastal regions.⁵⁷⁶ The Cele polity had as its southern neighbour the large Thuli chiefdom. Once the Cele chiefdom had been brought under Emperor Shaka's authority the days of Thuli independence also came to an end. It was clear for anyone that the Zulu emperor did not tolerate the existence of an autonomous and relatively strong polity especially on the edge of the Zulu sphere of influence. It appears from Bryant's account that the Thuli chiefdom was broken up in the invasions of the region south of the Thukela by an army sent from the Zululand.⁵⁷⁷

5.6. POLITICAL RELATIONS ESTABLISHED BETWEEN THE THUKELA VALLEY CHIEFDOMS AND THE ZULU

This section looks at the relationship between the Zulu empire and the Thukela chiefdoms. The coastal chiefdoms and the Zulu empire were very similar. The position of the *eMbo*, inkosi was identical to that of the Cele inkosi. It was said of Inkosi Zihlandlo that he was liked by Shaka and treated like Magaye.⁵⁷⁸ The subjects of neither group of chiefdoms were incorporated directly into the Zulu *amabutho*, but Shaka did appropriate a unit wholesale from both Zihlandlo and Magaye. Both these *amakhosi* maintained their regimental forces, with which they carried out local raids, largely on the Zulu behalf, and which they used to administer the

⁵⁷⁴ J.S.A, vol. 1, , p. 98, evidence of Dinya.

⁵⁷⁵ J.S.A, vol. 3, , pp. 33-41, evidence of Mbovu.

⁵⁷⁶ C.A. Hamilton: Ideology, Oral Tradition and the struggle for power in the early Zulu Kingdom (unpublished MA dissertation, University of Witwatersrand, 1986), p. 165.

⁵⁷⁷ A.T. Bryant: Olden Times in Zululand and Natal, p. 503.

⁵⁷⁸ J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 118, evidence of Dinya.

area.⁵⁷⁹ Representatives of Zulu power were sent in both areas to monitor the *eMbo* and *Cele* administrations.⁵⁸⁰

Although the two *amakhosi*, *Zihlandlo* and *Magaye*, maintained personal links with the Zulu monarch and cooperated closely with their Zulu overlords, what is important is to state is that both these chiefdoms were incorporated into the Zulu empire. It appears that these chiefdoms were incorporated based on clear social and political distinctions between themselves and the chiefdoms of the heartland. The form which these distinctions took was the categorization of both the chiefdoms of the Thukela Basin and those of the Natal coast as the *amaLala*.⁵⁸¹

The term 'Lala' has been used to refer to a group of lineages who were supposed to share a common language and culture, and who claimed to have originated together in the northeast from where they migrated southwards along the coast into Natal.⁵⁸² The chiefdoms who lived south of the Thukela River came to be called *amaLala*.⁵⁸³ The chiefdoms of the southern borders were incorporated into the Zulu state on a different basis from those of the heartland. As a result, their members came to acquire identities that distinguished them from the *amaNtungwa*. Evidence indicates that there were major differences in how certain of these chiefdoms (the Mkhize on the one hand, and the chiefdoms of the coastlands on the other) were incorporated. As a result, they have acquired different political identities. Only later, after the end of Emperor Shaka's reign, that the distinction begins to be lost and the *amaLala* identity becomes more general south of the Thukela River.⁵⁸⁴

The incorporation of the Mkhize chiefdom under the leadership of Inkosi *Zihlandlo* into the Zulu polity happened at a time when the Zulu state was still relatively weak and unable to establish the degree of control over its southern territory which it had done over its heartland. Authority over the chiefdoms of the Thukela valley was inevitably assigned by Emperor Shaka to *Zihlandlo*. With the support from Emperor Shaka, Inkosi *Zihlandlo* was able to rapidly

⁵⁷⁹ J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 96, evidence of *Dinya*; J.S.A., Vol. 2, pp. 51-53, evidence of *Madikane*.

⁵⁸⁰ A.T. Bryant: *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal*, pp. 569-70.

⁵⁸¹ J. Wright and C. Hamilton, and presented at the History Workshop, University of the Witwatersrand, 1984, entitled 'The Making of the Lala - Ethnicity, Ideology and Class-Formation in a Precolonial Context', *South African Historical Journal* 22 (1990), pp. 3-23.

⁵⁸² A.T. Bryant, *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal*, pp. 232-35.

⁵⁸³ J. Wright: *The Dynamics of Power and conflict in the Thukela-Mzimkhulu Region in the late 18th and early 19th centuries: a critical reconstruction* (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Witwatersrand, 1990), p. 312.

⁵⁸⁴ *Ibid*, p. 313.

expand his domination over a wide area on either side of the Thukela. In the process, it is suggested here, he was able to win recognition from the Zulu leadership of the primacy of the Mkhize claim to be regarded as *abaMbo*.⁵⁸⁵ As a means of strengthening the Mkhize support for his regime, Emperor Shaka seems to have been prepared to allow them to have their way. It was only in the 1830s, after Emperor Shaka's successor, King Dingane, had killed Zihlandlo and broken up the Mkhize paramountcy,⁵⁸⁶ that the Mkhize too began to be regarded by the Zulu as *amaLala*.

The creation of identity as *amaLala* for the Cele, Thuli and neighbouring chiefdoms is better attested than is the acquisition of the *isithakazelo* 'abaMbo' by the Mkhize.⁵⁸⁷ Like the latter process, the former was also a product of particular historical circumstances. Where the Mkhize had submitted to Shaka in the early stages of Zulu expansion when his regime was still relatively weak, the chiefdoms of the coastlands south of the Thukela were subordinated after the Zulu had defeated the Ndwandwe and made themselves the dominant power between the Thukela and the Black Mfolozi with Shaka's authority over the chiefdoms of the Zulu kingdom's heartland now somewhat more firmly established, the Zulu leadership was able to assert tighter political and ideological controls over the chiefdoms of the south-eastern coastlands than it had been able to do over the Mkhize. The more effectively to maintain its domination and to exploit the region's resources of cattle and labour-power, it sought to impose on the local peoples the notion that they were *amaLala*.⁵⁸⁸

The evidence strongly suggests that in the early 19th century the term *amaLala* meant something like 'menial', and carried a heavy stigma of social inferiority.⁵⁸⁹ It served to demarcate those peoples on the southern peripheries of the Zulu kingdom whom the Zulu leadership wished to exclude from the category of *amaNtungwa*, and so to prevent them from making the claims on

⁵⁸⁵ J. Wright: *The Dynamics of Power and conflict in the Thukela-Mzimkhulu Region in the late 18th and early 19th centuries: a critical reconstruction* (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Witwatersrand, 1990), p. 312.

⁵⁸⁶ J.S.A, vol. 2, pp. 191-192, evidence of Mandlakazi.

⁵⁸⁷ J. Wright: *The Dynamics of Power and conflict in the Thukela-Mzimkhulu Region in the late 18th and early 19th centuries: a critical reconstruction* (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Witwatersrand, 1990), p. 317.

⁵⁸⁸ C.A. Hamilton and J. Wright: 'The making of the Lala: ethnicity, ideology and class-formation in a precolonial context', unpubl. paper, University of the Witwatersrand, 1984, pp. 10-17; J. Wright: *The Dynamics of Power and conflict in the Thukela-Mzimkhulu Region in the late 18th and early 19th centuries: a critical reconstruction* (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Witwatersrand, 1990), p. 317.

⁵⁸⁹ C.A. Hamilton and J. Wright: 'The making of the Lala: ethnicity, ideology and class-formation in a precolonial context', unpubl. paper, University of the Witwatersrand, 1984, pp. 10-17.

their new overlords to which, in terms of kinship ideology, membership of this category would have entitled them. Though the leaders of the *amaNtungwa* peoples were required to yield tribute and service in various forms to the Zulu king, they could in return expect to benefit from his periodic redistribution of accumulated ‘surplus’, and also to be allowed to participate in the Zulu state’s decision making processes. To render the peoples of the southern peripheries, open to a greater level of exploitation, it was essential for the Zulu leadership to prevent them from aspiring to join the category of *amaNtungwa* peoples. They sought to do this by ascribing to them the identity of *amaLala*, which in effect reduced them to the status of despised outsiders.⁵⁹⁰

The *amaLala* peoples were distinguished from the *amaNtungwa* by differences in dialect, custom and supposed origin.⁵⁹¹ To some extent, it seems, the dominant Cele group was able to avoid the full effects of Zulu oppression and exploitation by deflecting them onto the other peoples of the coastlands whom the Zulu had subordinated and placed under Magaye’s authority. These chiefdoms came to be designated as *iNyakeni*, a term that carried connotations of ignorance and slovenliness. The effects of this categorization would have been to stratify the chiefdoms of the coastlands still further, and make them yet more vulnerable to exploitation by the Cele on behalf, ultimately, of the Zulu power.⁵⁹²

The establishment by the Zulu of physical domination over the chiefdoms south of the Thukela was thus accompanied by an ideological restructuring that saw the emergence of new political identities among the peoples of the region. In the Thukela valley, the Mkhize were able to assert an exclusive claim to the *isithakazelo* ‘abaMbo’, which reflected the position of local dominance that they were able to achieve by dint of being Shaka’s ‘favourites’. In the coastlands, by contrast, the Cele, Thuli and other peoples came to be designated by the insulting appellations of *amaLala* and *inyakeni*, which reflected the positions which they occupied at the bottom of the Zulu-dominated social and political order.⁵⁹³

⁵⁹⁰ J. Wright: The Dynamics of Power and conflict in the Thukela-Mzimkhulu Region in the late 18th and early 19th centuries: a critical reconstruction (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Witwatersrand, 1990), pp. 317-318.

⁵⁹¹ I.S. Kubheka: A Preliminary Survey of Zulu Dialects in Natal and Zululand, MA, University of Natal, 1979, pp. 65-100.

⁵⁹² J. Wright: The Dynamics of Power and conflict in the Thukela-Mzimkhulu Region in the late 18th and early 19th centuries: a critical reconstruction (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Witwatersrand, 1990), pp. 318-319.

⁵⁹³ A. Zinn: Whose History Counts: Decolonising African Pre-colonial Historiography, p. 67; J. Wright: The Dynamics of Power and conflict in the Thukela-Mzimkhulu Region in the late 18th and early 19th

The Zulu hegemony over the territories of the south of the Thukela was still in the process of being consolidated when, from the mid-1820s, a completely new set of factors began to affect the dynamics of power and conflict in the region. These factors stemmed from the settlement at Port Natal from 1824 onward of parties of British traders and hunters from the Cape colony. The background to the advent of these groups, together with their impact on the politics of the region in the second half of the 1820s, will form the subject of the next chapter.⁵⁹⁴

5.7. ZULU RULE ACROSS THE THUKELA RIVER AND FURTHER SOUTH

It is important to state that the move of the Zulu regiment southwards across the Thukela River was marked, firstly by the establishment of Zulu herds and cattle posts which was followed by the establishment of a large number of *amakhanda*. The Zulu regiment marked the first Zulu unit to move southward. At first, their initial mission was to intervene in the civil war which had erupted in the Cele chieftdom south of the Thukela River. It is of importance to state that these regiments were instrumental in securing the Cele chieftaincy for Emperor Shaka's candidate, Magaye. The movement of the Zulu across the Thukela and the establishment of a series thereof cattle posts were then negotiated with the compliance of the new Cele inkosi, Magaye.⁵⁹⁵

By 1826, the Zulu capital itself was shifted from Bulawayo to Dukuza, on the site of present-day Stanger. Nathalian Isaacs, on his account of what he had witnessed on his sojourn. He said:

We passed several Zulu kraals, the natives of which had lately removed from other side of the river Ootoogale: they were the people belonging to the new regiment, Toogoosa and were taking possession of the kraal appointed for them, driving Cayles (the original possessors of it) farther to the westward.⁵⁹⁶

The Fasimba, Bhekenya and other *amabutho* moved with Emperor Shaka. The Gibabanye regiment also settled south of the Thukela.⁵⁹⁷ The last unit to be gathered by Emperor Shaka was the iNgcobinga (or iziNyosi), which was mostly comprised of youths of about twenty.

centuries: a critical reconstruction (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Witwatersrand, 1990), p. 319.

⁵⁹⁴ J. Wright: The Dynamics of Power and conflict in the Thukela-Mzimkhulu Region in the late 18th and early 19th centuries: a critical reconstruction (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Witwatersrand, 1990), p. 319.

⁵⁹⁵ J.S.A., Vol. 3, pp. 79- 83, evidence of Melapi.

⁵⁹⁶ J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 84, evidence of Melapi.

⁵⁹⁷ J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 140, evidence of Melapi

They were also stationed at kwaDukuza, after the completion of their training at esiKlebheni.⁵⁹⁸ A new establishment was built for Nandi, the queen-mother, known as Nyakumbi, it was there that the private herds of the king were based.⁵⁹⁹ (Possibly a similar arrangement had prevailed previously at Bulawayo, with the King's private herds based at that time at Nandi's Mkhindini residence).

Several Zulu cattle posts were built between Mvoti River and Mzimkhulu. The iNdabenkulu regiment built two cattle posts.⁶⁰⁰ One was built on the Bluff near present-day Durban, known as Kayisa of the Ndabenkulu and another in the inland, known as the Ndomba of the Ndabenkulu. It appears that after these cattle posts were built, the iNdabenkulu regiment withdrew to the new capital, leaving local Thuli people to maintain the posts. The Kayisa cattle were herded by young unmarried herders sent down by the Emperor, while the Ndoma cattle were herded by married men. The Ndoma was a herd of oxen, and the cattle post was probably used to supply beasts for the Emperor to slaughter.⁶⁰¹

Another cattle post that was situated between Mdloti and Thongathi Rivers was Njanduna.⁶⁰² It appears that the Njanduna cattle post was one of the largest cattle posts. Evidence from Stuart's informants indicates that this cattle post was at first a Cele establishment, but was taken over from the Cele Inkosi by Emperor Shaka.⁶⁰³ Because Emperor Shaka ruled through his appointees from the Cele, the Cele inhabitants were retained to run the post. This was not the first act as the iNdabenkulu *ibutho* had done the same with the Thuli when they were allowed to run the iNdabenkulu cattle posts. In the case of the Cele, the *amaPhela ibutho* was saddled with the task to run the Njanduna cattle post with the Cele.⁶⁰⁴

The expansion of Zulu rule across the Thukela River was also marked by the establishment of cattle posts more south, such as the Mfume post near the iLovu River.⁶⁰⁵ Another cattle post was established south of the Mkhomazi River was the Mpiyakhe post.⁶⁰⁶ While the Shiyabantu post was built near the present-day Stanger.⁶⁰⁷ Another post was located on the Mlazi River

⁵⁹⁸ J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 161, evidence of Makewu; J.S.A., Vol. 1, p. 31, evidence of Baleni.

⁵⁹⁹ A.T. Bryant: *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal*, p. 661.

⁶⁰⁰ J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 245, evidence of Mmemi.

⁶⁰¹ J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 83, evidence of Melapi; J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 245, evidence of Mmemi.

⁶⁰² J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 53, evidence of Madikane;

⁶⁰³ J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 71, evidence of Mageza.

⁶⁰⁴ J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 53, evidence of Madikane; J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 71, evidence of Mageza.

⁶⁰⁵ J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 249, evidence of Mayinga.

⁶⁰⁶ J.S.A., Vol. 2, p. 249, evidence of Mayinga.

⁶⁰⁷ J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 83, evidence of Melapi.

which its name does not appear.⁶⁰⁸ Further cattle posts were built such as Mdimbili which was near Mhlali, eNhangwini which was near the emuShana River and the Gqikazi establishment which was established north of the Mdloti River.⁶⁰⁹ Evidence also indicates that one cattle post was located as far south as the Mzimkhulu.⁶¹⁰ It is also important to state that there were likely others about which no records survive. The *kwaKhangela* cattle post was built on the site today known as Congella and was probably the largest of all the posts.⁶¹¹ This establishment was raised by a section of the uMgumanqa *ibutho*, who was known as the uKhangela *amaNkengane* is a term class persons,⁶¹² and indeed the cattle posts south of the Thukela appear to have been in the care of lower-class *amabutho* or of the Thuli and Cele who were known collectively by the derogatory appellation of *amaLala*.⁶¹³

It is important to state that these cattle posts were stocked largely with herds seized by the Zulu from the inhabitants of Natal and from the *amaMpondo* to the south.⁶¹⁴ The quartering of cattle south of the Thukela meant that the Zulu was not just in control of the economy of the region but was also in total control of the politics of the region south of the Thukela River. This was the case because Emperor Shaka was able to have a huge influence in the politics of the region and was able to deploy his representatives in the region.

At this time, the cattle were of great importance politically, but it is important to state that the establishment of *amakhanda* at distances away from the central authority created problems of loyalty and supervision. The answer not crashing as many Eurocentric historical sources have claimed but Emperor Shaka opted to use his relatives. By positioning his aunts, brothers and relatives in distant *amakhanda*, Emperor Shaka was able to supervise greater exploitation of environmental resources. For instance, King Mpande with his regiment and Emperor Shaka's mother, Nandi, lived *kwaKhangela*, an *ikhanda* approximately ten kilometres southeast of the present-day eShowe. Consequently, status itself was a politically centralizing factor.

⁶⁰⁸ J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 83, evidence of Melapi; A.T. Bryant: *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal*, p. 644.

⁶⁰⁹ K.C.: *Essery Papers*, 'Royal Kraals', p. 132.

⁶¹⁰ J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 83, evidence of Melapi.

⁶¹¹ N. Isaacs: *Travels*, p. 182.

⁶¹² K.C.: *Essery Papers*, 'Zulu Royal Regiments', pp. 128, 132.

⁶¹³ M.M. Fuze: *The Black People from whence they came*, p. 65.

⁶¹⁴ J.S.A., Vol. 3, p. 245, evidence of Mmemi.

5.8. THE GOVERNMENT OF THE ZULU STATE

The incorporation of the coastal and mid-Thukela chiefdoms into the Zulu empire expanded the domains of Emperor Shaka's state. It is of importance to look at how Emperor Shaka governed his state. The loosely decentralized confederation of clans that King Dingiswayo created was still largely in place.⁶¹⁵ But the weakness of this system became obvious when King Dingiswayo was killed and the confederation began disintegrating. While there was this transition, Emperor Shaka watching that disintegration, he decided on a very different administrative model that had been new in the region. It is important to state that his administrative model was different from that of his predecessors. He decided to claim absolute authority over his state. This means that he created a law-and-order government with a highly centralized structure that lasted to the present day.⁶¹⁶

During his reign, Emperor Shaka established a hierarchy of civil and political officials subordinate to him. At the helm of this centralized hierarchy, he was the state's spokesman to the spirit world, the ultimate legal court of appeal, the supreme commander of the army and the head of the civil government. He used the military structures, the bureaucracy and secret service to maintain his command over this highly centralized state.

5.8.1. THE ROLE OF AMABUTHO IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE STATE

Amabutho functions were to protect the state. The introduction of new regimental structures helped Emperor Shaka prevented chiefdoms from becoming centres of political opposition and kept the state's most useful resource – manpower – directly under his control. The *amabutho* system, run by an efficient bureaucracy staffed by Emperor Shaka's key officials in regional positions of authority, was the heart of the state structure. The *amabutho* became an instrument of royal control throughout Emperor Shaka's growing state.⁶¹⁷ This was because their membership was recruited from all clans that were incorporated into the Zulu state and instilled with a sense of national, rather than local, identity. These *amabutho* served as an instrument both of internal control and external defence, keeping the peace, enforcing Emperor Shaka's punishments, defending the population against raiders.

Speaking about the Zulu *amabutho*, Bryant said the following:

⁶¹⁵ M.F.R. Kets de Vries: *Lessons on Leadership by Terror: Finding Shaka Zulu in the Attic*, p. 43.

⁶¹⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 43-44.

⁶¹⁷ J. Laband: *Daily Lives of Civilians in Wartime Africa: From Slavery Days to Rwandan Genocide*, p. 58.

While ease and freedom were abundant, stern discipline continuously reigned..... They were there for the sole purpose of fulfilling the king's behests. They acted as the state army, the state police, the state labour-gang. They fought the clan's battles, made raids when the state funds were low – the state funds, of course, being the king's cattle; they slew convicted and even suspected malefactors and confiscated their property in the king's name; they built and repaired the king's kraals, cultivated his fields and manufactured his war-shields ... In such ways as this was every individual of the Nguni clan, boys and girls, maids and men alike, taught, first to father, then to king, to be ever obedient, docile, disciplined, self-sacrificing unto the last, unto the supreme test of offering one's life on the field of battle.⁶¹⁸

The male subjects were first members of an *ibutho* and then members of the Zulu state. The men felt intense loyalty toward the king because he gave them food, arms, regalia, position, rewards of cattle and eventually their wives. Each Emperor Shaka's *ibutho* had its village and herd of cattle for food. The *amabutho* were quartered at separate kraals. Like the cattle, the war shields of the members of the *amabutho* belonged to the king, because they were made from the hides of the royal herds. Thought to have powerful ritual properties, they were kept in a special hut at a nearby royal kraal. Meals were eaten family-style, with meat and milk provided by the state (as was millet beer, when the occasion warranted it), while staple grains were provided by the families of the men in the *ibutho*. To further the process of socialization, during meals the warriors would shout Shaka's praises and thank him for his generosity.⁶¹⁹

During Shaka's rule, service in the army was continuous and long-term. Every warrior remained most of the time with his *ibutho*, leaving only when Shaka permitted the entire regiment to retire. Shaka postponed the married status as long as possible for his warriors, to keep them under his control. Several *amakhanda* or royal homesteads were built around Emperor Shaka's state.⁶²⁰ These *amakhanda* served as quarters for the various Zulu regiments. What is noticeable is that the *amakhanda* were built at strategic points in the state to defend against enemies, serve as centres of administration, and offer support as symbols of royal authority. Emperor Shaka probably had 13 or 14 of these royal homesteads. It appears that

⁶¹⁸ A.T. Bryant: *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal*, pp. 78–79.

⁶¹⁹ M.F.R. Kets de Vries: *Lessons on Leadership by Terror-Finding Shaka Zulu in the Attic*, pp. 44-45.

⁶²⁰ P.M. Madi: *Leadership lessons from Emperor Shaka Zulu the Great*, p. 50; M.F.R. Kets de Vries: *Lessons on Leadership by Terror-Finding Shaka Zulu in the Attic*, p. 45.

when not at war he would travel between them, taking residency in turn. The largest *ikhanda* was *kwaBulawayo* which stands in the hills above the Mhlathuze Valley.⁶²¹

The *ikhanda* besides being in a military kraal was a repository for the cattle, most of which were taken in wars. These cattle were the property of the state and drawn on for state purposes, but the king would not take any from a kraal without consulting the *induna* in charge.⁶²² Because there was no regular pay for these people, those who had been outstandingly brave in battle Emperor Shaka gave presents of cattle which they could take home and the spoils taken in war were nearly liberally distributed. Beads and other ornaments were also given by the Emperor's favour to warriors who distinguished themselves in war.

5.8.2. THE ROLE OF AMAKHOSI AND IZINDUNA IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE STATE

Amakhosi were able to wield power over their subjects by effectively and systematically controlling major resources at their disposal. The land was the most important resource for bolstering the powers of the *amakhosi*. The right to control and allocate land to newcomers into the chiefdoms was an important way of exerting control over them. Other institutions which *amakhosi* managed to control were the First-Fruit ceremony, i.e. Umkhosi wokweshwama, Age-regiments, i.e. *Amabutho* and clientship, i.e. ukusisa. *Amakhosi* could call up their young men to form *amabutho*, i.e. age regiments, and use them as a source of labour and a military force to maintain law and order within their chiefdoms.⁶²³ As time went by they were marshalled as armies to pursue expeditions which were characteristic of this period.⁶²⁴

Izinduna were central figures in the administration of the Zulu state. These people acted as representatives of the king. The *izinduna* acted as the king's deputies and they had power over life and death. These people also commanded the *amabutho*. They also played a key role in the central administrative structure of the Zulu state. They were the king's walking embodiment; as chief intermediaries between Emperor Shaka and his subjects. They were the executors of

⁶²¹ P.E. Raper: New Dictionary of South African Place names, p. 78.

⁶²² M.F.R. Kets de Vries: Lessons on Leadership by Terror-Finding Shaka Zulu in the Attic, p. 145.

⁶²³ J. Laband, Rope of Sand: The Rise and Fall of the Zulu Kingdom in the Nineteenth Century (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 1995), p. 14; J. Wright & C. Hamilton, "Traditions and transformations: The Phongolo-Mzimkhulu region in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries", in A. Duminy and B. Guest, *Natal and Zululand*, pp. 61-3.

⁶²⁴ J. Laband, Rope of Sand: The Rise and Fall of the Zulu Kingdom in the Nineteenth Century (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 1995), p. 14

Emperor Shaka's commands. They occupied important military and administrative posts. They replaced the power of the traditional clan *inkosi* who was removed by Emperor Shaka.⁶²⁵

Amabutho were the major institutional mechanism for generating masculinity. Even when they ceased to enrol young men the training received there, such as stick fighting and deference to authority, was deeply entrenched at the lower level of the homestead.⁶²⁶ *Amakhosi*, assisted by *izinduna*, i.e. district headmen, exercised administrative, criminal and civil jurisdictions over their subjects before the colonial era. *Inkosi* was also the coordinator of the various aspects of the everyday life of his people.⁶²⁷ *Amakhosi* also 'liaised' with the ancestors of their chiefdoms and they were regarded as spiritual heads of their people, However, this is not to suggest that *amakhosi* did not abuse power. Some *amakhosi* could impose unreasonable sentence on certain culprits while others close to him enjoyed great favours.⁶²⁸

It is important to state that in the earlier years of his reign, when clans submitted to the Zulu state, Emperor Shaka accepted the ruling family as subordinate leaders in his administrative hierarchy. When some chiefdoms resisted incorporation, Emperor Shaka immediately put one of his subordinates in charge; then as time passed he would add additional supporters in positions of power within the chiefdom. If appointees were resistant to his rule, he simply had them killed and replaced them with candidates more to his liking.⁶²⁹

It is important to draw some hints in the selecting criteria of *izinduna* and subordinates for his administration. Emperor Shaka not often looked to members of the royal family though he had several half-brothers. He preferred commoners, often regimental leaders exceptional for their prowess in warfare, who had little or no traditional right to be *amakhosi*, and who were, therefore, indebted to and dependent upon Emperor Shaka for their position. With no hereditary authority of their own, they were more likely to support Emperor Shaka faithfully. What must be pointed out is the fact that the land under *amakhosi* in KwaZulu Natal is not ancestral land in every case, but includes in most cases, land given by Emperor Shaka himself to some of the

⁶²⁵ M.F.R. Kets de Vries: *Lessons on Leadership by Terror-Finding Shaka Zulu in the Attic*, p. 46.

⁶²⁶ R. Morrell, J. Wright, & S. Meintjes, 'Colonialism and the establishment of white domination', in R. Morrell, ed., *Political Economy and Identities in KwaZulu-Natal: Historical and Social Perspectives* (Durban: Indicator, 1996), p. 57

⁶²⁷ Discussion Document on Traditional Leadership, 2000, pp. 2-3.

⁶²⁸ S. Thabethe: *The impact of the Natal Government's legislation on the powers of amakhosi: 1875-1897*, p. 4.

⁶²⁹ M.F.R. Kets de Vries: *Lessons on Leadership by Terror-Finding Shaka Zulu in the Attic*, pp. 46-47.

ancestors of the present *amakhosi* as rewards. These rewards were for the heroism displayed by those ancestors in the various wars in which they participated.⁶³⁰

5.9. CONCLUSION

This chapter has discussed the incorporation of coastal and mid-Thukela chiefdoms into the Zulu empire. The extension of Zulu authority over these regions placed rich resources of agricultural and grazing land at the disposal of the Zulu monarch. The few coherent chiefdoms that were still found in the lower Thukela valley and the coastal regions, were clients or satellites of the Zulu state. It could be argued that chiefdoms north of the Thukela River which were politically aligned with the Zulu aristocracy enjoyed the status of full subjects of the state. The chiefdoms on the margin of the empire became tributaries. In the early 1820s, several chiefdoms south of the Thukela River and in the coastal region became clients of the Zulu state. By the mid-1820s Shaka's *amabutho* raided resistant areas far to the south including Mpondoland (as named by the British).⁶³¹

The chapter has also argued that Inkosi Zihlandlo carried out Shaka's instructions with delight and won himself a position as a regional governor in Shaka's ever-expanding state. Mbokodo *kaSilulekile* said Shaka took a fancy to Inkosi Zihlandlo, referring to him as his brother "*mnawe wami*" and taking him along on his military expeditions against Sikhunyane and the Mpondo to the south.⁶³² Inkosi Zihlandlo continued to organise some minor campaigns in a bid to consolidate his position as a strong satellite of the Zulu state.⁶³³

Among those he incorporated were the Dunge under Inkosi Boyiya and the Njilo of Inkosi Noqomfela. According to Ndabazwe *kaMfuleni*, his clan of the Dladla, an offshoot of the *amaMbatha*, went willingly to live under Inkosi Zihlandlo.⁶³⁴ It is important to note that the Lala and eMbo people under Inkosi Zihlandlo were regarded as different from the Nguni. Mbokodo *kaSilulekile* agrees that they originated from Swaziland, having left that country on account of fighting and quarrelling.⁶³⁵ This evidence gives credence to John Lambert's speculation that the Mfecane might have started in Delagoa Bay (Maputo) as a consequence of

⁶³⁰ M.G. Buthelezi: King Shaka Celebrations: Address by Mangosuthu Buthelezi. October 5, 1996.

⁶³¹ B. Schmidt: Creating Order- Culture as Politics in 19th and 20th Century South Africa, p. 66.

⁶³² Webb and Wright, JSA, vol3, evidence of Mbokodo, p 6.

⁶³³ E.M. Masina: Zulu Perceptions and Reactions to the British Occupation of Land in Natal Colony and Zululand, 1850 - 1887: A Recapitulation Based On Surviving Oral and Written Sources (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Zululand, 2006), p. 6.

⁶³⁴ J.S.A, vol. 4, p. 183, evidence of Ndabazwe.

⁶³⁵ J.S.A, vol. 3, p. 6, evidence of Mbokodo.

slave raids unleashing havoc in the whole region.⁶³⁶ The series of devastating conflicts have often been attributed to Shaka's raids.⁶³⁷

Emperor Shaka's southerly conquest also forced the Somini people of Inkosi Moyeni kaNomadayi along with their neighbours the Ngcolosi of Inkosi Mepo, who were living along the Mandlalati stream, to succumb. The hapless Dunge- the Mkhathini and ChiLiza- were scattered. Fragments of ejected clans, and small remnants of families, "in mortal fear of each other roamed the veld and hills, and caves in search of some edible substance for survival."⁶³⁸ Emperor Shaka, for his part, brought home incredible victories; bloody and bloodless victories, each of them carrying an increment of territory and power, so that by 1819, all notable rivals had been eliminated and Shaka controlled an enormous territory. He then set about creating a single Zulu state, with all the trappings of nationhood, out of the many hitherto autonomous chiefdoms. He deviated from King Dingiswayo's idea of a loose confederation of semi-autonomous chiefdoms.⁶³⁹

From then onwards, the "traditions of the Zulu royal lineage became the traditions of the nation; the Zulu dialect became the language of the nation; and every inhabitant, whatever his origins, became a Zulu, owing allegiance to Emperor Shaka".⁶⁴⁰ Many of *amakhosi* in the conquered regions found themselves incorporated into the lower echelons of Emperor Shaka's centralised paramountcy. The *amakhosi* ruling in the core area of Emperor Shaka's territory were incorporated into the centralised body politic through alignments with the Zulu lineage, marriage arrangements, appointments to Emperor Shaka's council, and compulsory service of young men in the *amabutho*. To encourage loyalty to the Zulu ruling lineage it was essential to foster common interests in preserving the social hierarchy.

The following chapter focuses on the Zulu way of life. In other words, the following chapter discusses the key features of established cultural traditions in the empire. It focuses on how after all the chiefdoms were brought under Emperor Shaka Zulu control the communities were

⁶³⁶ John Lambert, *Betrayed Trust; Africans and the state in colonial Natal* (Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press, 1995), p. 7.

⁶³⁷ E.M. Masina: *Zulu Perceptions and Reactions to the British Occupation of Land in Natal Colony and Zululand, 1850 - 1887: A Recapitulation Based On Surviving Oral and Written Sources* (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Zululand, 2006), p. 7.

⁶³⁸ A.T. Bryant: *History of the Zulu and Neighbouring Tribes*, p. 75.

⁶³⁹ E.A. Ritter: *Shaka Zulu*, p. 150.

⁶⁴⁰ M. Wilson and L. Thompson: *A History of South Africa to 1870*, p. 345.

ordered, their marriage ceremonies, the leadership structures in the communities, the kind of food they eat, their arts and craft.

CHAPTER SIX

KEY FEATURES OF ESTABLISHED CULTURAL TRADITIONS IN THE EMPIRE

6.1. INTRODUCTION

After incorporating various confederacies and clans into the Zulu state, Shaka established the cultural traditions of the empire. This chapter discusses the Zulu *modus vivendi* during Shakan days which has continued till today. This includes how communities were ordered, customs, the leadership structures in the communities, the kind of food they eat, their arts and craft. These issues are discussed and they show how these issues were used to promote Zulu cultural traditions. The Zulu culture has a long and interesting history which makes this section imperative to appreciate the essence of its culture. The cattle still provide an important source of food - milk, maas and meat. The cattle still provide skins for clothing and shields. They also play an important role in the spiritual life of the Zulu people.

6.2. THE PIVOTAL ROLE OF CATTLE TO AMAZULU

From the earliest time, *amaZulu* are pastoralist.⁶⁴¹ This means that their lifestyle revolved around reliance on cattle. Cattle were their most important source of food. Cattle provided *amasi* (milk curds) and meat. For regiments, it provided hides for garments and shields. Until today *amaZulu* love to eat beef but the importance of cattle went far beyond being a food source. The ownership of cattle in the Zulu state was the primary indicator of wealth and a major sign of social standing in the community. The ownership of cattle stood for independence, power and status. The exchange of cattle was a crucial part of the marriage contract. If a man wanted to get married, he had to offer an *ilobolo* (to the family of the bride as compensation for her loss. The more cattle a person had, the more wives he was able to afford.

To the Zulu people, cattle have been regarded as highly prized possessions. Cattle are to *amaZulu* what money is to people from the western countries. The lifestyle of the Zulu people living in the region where Emperor Shaka reigned has not changed much from the ancient way of life. It is still a lifestyle that revolves around cattle herding and living in a close relationship with nature. Cattle were and continue to be important in the religious life of *amaZulu* because at every important ritual occasion – puberty, marriage, death cattle is killed to please the spirit world. The sacrifice of cattle to the ancestors was and continue to be seen as necessary to ensure

⁶⁴¹ J. Laband: *Zulu Warriors: The Battle for the South African Frontier*, p. 208.

harmony between the spirit world and the physical world. In Zulu culture, the cattle kraal, where the spirits of ancestors were thought to linger, became in effect the Zulu temple.⁶⁴²

Cattle are of ritual significance, for it is only by sacrificing beasts that the spirits of the ancestors could be appeased, for one is sacrificing what is still theirs.⁶⁴³ In his account, Samuelson has pointed out that in Zulu culture communication with the ancestors is accompanied by the slaughtering of an animal such as a goat or a cow, accompanied by the burning of *impepho*. As the smoke starts flowing up, the person burning it will start talking normally to the ancestors. By so doing the communication between the ancestors and the living is maintained. Furthermore, the smoke from the burning plants is inhaled by *izangoma* (diviners) to induce trances.⁶⁴⁴ The Zulu believe in the security provided by the ancestors in their lives. One often observes beehive huts with horns of goats and cattle attached to them. The horns come from the goats and cattle sacrificed for the ancestors and demonstrate the Zulu peoples' great recognition, honour and worship of the ancestors.⁶⁴⁵ The belief in and respect for ancestral spirits is a cornerstone of the Zulu culture and is still widely practised by the Zulu people today.

6.3. THE IMPORTANCE OF LAND TO AMAZULU

The wars of conquest brought plenty of land under the Zulu domains. There was no regular pay in the Zulu army but as the life of the whole was a military one, the ambition of every man was to excel in bravery. To those who had been outstandingly brave in battle, the king gave presents of land and cattle which they could take home and the spoils taken in war were nearly liberally distributed. Beads and other ornaments were also given by the king's favour to warriors who distinguished themselves in war. What must be pointed out is the fact that the land under *amakhosi* in KwaZulu Natal is not ancestral land in every case, but includes in most cases, land given by Emperor Shaka himself to some of the ancestors as rewards. These rewards were for the heroism displayed by those ancestors in the various wars in which they participated.⁶⁴⁶

The extension of Zulu authority into the north, east south and west placed rich resources of agricultural and grazing land at the disposal of the monarchy. It is important to therefore look at how the land has become indispensable in the lives of people in Emperor Shaka's empire. It

⁶⁴² M.F.R. Kets de Vries: *Lessons on Leadership by Terror: Finding Shaka Zulu in the Attic*, p. 21.

⁶⁴³ H. Callway: *The Religious System of the AmaZulu*, p. 140.

⁶⁴⁴ R.C. Samuelson: *Long Long Ago*, p. 251.

⁶⁴⁵ M.C. Dube: *The Tourism Potential of Zululand North of the Tugela River with Special Reference to Zulu Culture and History*, p. 9.

⁶⁴⁶ M.G. Buthelezi: *King Shaka Celebrations: Address by Mangosuthu Buthelezi*. October 5, 1996.

is important to state that land has not changed much from the ancient way of life. The land still forms part and parcel of living especially for rural people. They used the land for agricultural purposes. The land in KwaZulu Natal was and continue to be run by traditional leadership through traditional leadership institutions. The following section discusses the pivotal role played by traditional institutions among *amaZulu*.

6.4. THE ROLE PLAYED BY ZULU TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP STRUCTURES

The role of traditional leadership in South Africa started to be problematic immediately after democratic dispensation.⁶⁴⁷ The issue of traditional leadership and the role of traditional leaders in national and local government has been a subject for discussion in various South African organisations and institutions.⁶⁴⁸ Since the 1994 general elections, socio-political change has brought about several changes in the role of traditional leadership and this has made people feel that there is no need for traditional leadership in the modernised community. Some have pointed out that they were used to exploit people and the land through the system of indirect rule.

The fact is that traditional leadership has a distinctive role in the current democratic and modernised community. Although the Zulu state falls under democratic South Africa, the role played by traditional structures is still important as it was during pre-colonial times. This role of traditional leadership pertains to traditions, customs, dispute resolutions, safety and security in the community, development of communities, reporting of endemic diseases in community areas as well as other community-based activities and other community programmes.

The political functions of traditional leaders are still focused on resolving conflicts, allocating land and managing traditional courts. Seeing that local government also distribute information to the communities. Service delivery under traditional authorities mainly entailed the following: allocation of land, addressing stock theft, dealing with animal diseases and other livestock problems. The main problem faced by traditional leadership is that there is an omission in the modern legislation where *Amakhosi's* powers about land are mentioned. Yet, at least seventy per cent (70%) of *Amakhosi's* work consist of land administration and dispute

⁶⁴⁷ M.L.J. Koenane: 'The role and significance of traditional leadership in the governance of modern democratic South Africa', *Africa Review*, 2017, p. 5.

⁶⁴⁸ B. Oommen: *Tradition on the move*, p. 1.

resolution about land matters.⁶⁴⁹ Each time there is talk about land reform, *Amakhosi* are among the people that should be consulted. When there is talk about communal land right *Amakhosi* feature prominently.

The king is the supreme ruler of the Zulu people. He has the legislative and judicial powers, rules by customary laws. The king is not autocratic as he is assisted by his councillors who sit the legislative assembly. The king has the regional *amakhosi* who presides over the region under the king's jurisdiction. The *amakhosi* have the councillors who are the eyes and the ears of the king in their reserve or district.⁶⁵⁰ A king or inkosi cannot make a final decision, judgement or legislation without the consultation of the council.⁶⁵¹

Krige says that the councillors are normally the head of the leading families in their communities and they have hereditary rights. Besides being in the legislative council because of hereditary rights, some men forge their way through to the council because of their influence or status in the society.⁶⁵² Some time back *Isilo samabandla* (King Zwelithini kaBhekuzulu Zulu) initiated an excellent idea for the Zulu traditional leadership structure. His idea was that of an institute for the education of *Amakhosi*, *abantwana* (Princes and Princesses), and all the structures of traditional governance. This excellent idea was born out of his realization that many people responsible for driving traditional institutions ascend such positions of authority and responsibility without knowledge of the structures they represent and how such structures should be driven.

6.5. THE STRUCTURE OF THE ZULU TRADITIONAL HOMESTEAD

It is important to state that there was a formal procedure that was followed when building the huts around the homestead. To have a better understanding of this procedure one needs to discuss the arrangement of the huts around the Zulu homestead.

6.5.1. THE ORGANIZATION OF HUTS IN THE ZULU HOMESTEAD

Not only were Zulu huts arranged around the homestead, but there was also a particular manner in which the huts used to be arranged. Says Msimang:

⁶⁴⁹ Evaluation of the UKZN Leadership and Good Governance Capacity Building Programme for Amakhosi Prepared by the Evaluation unit.

⁶⁵⁰ IFP Demands Action Against Killing of Izinduna in KZN, 26 November, 2020. Press release.

⁶⁵¹ M.C. Storm: Children of the New Blood, p. 32.

⁶⁵² E.J. Krige: The Social System of the Zulus, p. 219.

“Kungaliphutha elikhulu ukuba izindlu zesiZulu zibekwe noma kanjani nje. Kufanele zilandelaniswe ngononina bazo ngobukhulu nangokubaluleka kwazo.”⁶⁵³

It will be a great mistake to put Zulu huts anyhow. They are supposed to follow each other according to their greatness and their importance.

The traditional Zulu *umuzi*, which determines rank in the positioning of individual huts, had a particular order.⁶⁵⁴ A Zulu homestead is normally arranged in a circular shape. Usually, in the hut farthest from the entrance to the village, the mother of the king is situated, then the *inkosi* lives to her right, his first wife is again to the left of his mother's hut and the hut of his next wife to his right, and so it will alternate through the *umuzi* from side to side. Unmarried sons and daughters reside to the right and left of the *umuzi* entrance in the same gender huts, while the eldest son of the *inkosi* guards the entrance to the homestead.

In the culture of Zulu, the first woman is considered an *undlunkulu*. A magnificent masterpiece of organizational structure is illustrated by the *umuzi*. In an *umuzi*, *undlunkulu*, opposite the main entrance, occupies the principal dwelling in the northern part of the *umuzi*. Near the *indlunkulu*, there was the wife of the right hand, called *iqadi*, and the wife of the left hand called *ikhohlo*.⁶⁵⁵ Without a married headman, no Zulu home could be established. The boys' huts are built on the right side of the *umuzi*, while the girls' huts are built on the left side.⁶⁵⁶ It is often the case that the King's sons, upon marriage, would at some point build their houses on the right side of the *umuzi*. This extended the size of the *umuzi*.⁶⁵⁷ This then extended the size of *umuzi*. The extended *umuzi* (big homestead) is then called *inxuluma*. The importance of ancestors has been mentioned. What is noticeable in the organizational structure of the Zulu *umuzi* next to the King's dwelling would have been a formal beehive hut erected for the ancestors.⁶⁵⁸

Although people have become in the way they live and build their houses, most of the Zulu *imizi* have beehive huts even today. Some of these *imizi* have retained the form and structure

⁶⁵³ C.T. Msimang: Kusadliwa Ngoludala, p. 4.

⁶⁵⁴ K. Fair and A. Florence: Zulu Traditional Customs and Culture, pp. 66-68.

⁶⁵⁵ R.C. Samuelson: Long Long Ago, p.250.

⁶⁵⁶ E.J. Krige: The Social System of the Zulus, p. 45.

⁶⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁸ R.C. Samuelson: Long Long Ago, p. 251.

that they had long before colonialism. It must be stated that due to changes that have come with time, most of the Zulu *imizi* have changed form and structure. As a result of the changes in our societies, it has become very rare to see the true traditional beehive huts. It seems that most of the Zulu homesteads were built on the hills, especially on the side where they would be protected from strong winds. This style of building a large Zulu home on hills can be seen in places like Eshowe and Ndundulu-Melmoth.

The homestead was surrounded by logs that were tightly knit without wires. Where there are enough stones, the courtyard is normally lined with stones built into walls (*umthangala*) as one would build a masonry house. The fencing is usually circular with the cattle kraal in the centre of the courtyard. The cattle kraal or byre is also built as an outer courtyard fence, tightly-knit logs or stones. They used strong trees that would last a long time, trees like acacia (*umthole*) and others. The cattle kraal was considered to be the temple or the holy place of the homestead, as it was where the ancestral spirits found their place of residence. The upper section of the cattle kraal had a calves' enclosure. The cattle kraal, as a holy place, was the place where the head of the family (*inhloko yomuzi*) spoke to the ancestral spirits during the family sacrificial ceremonies and prayed on behalf of the entire family to ask the ancestors to protect the welfare of the family members. The farm of the cattle and the main hut (*indlunkulu*).⁶⁵⁹

The Zulu homestead is a beehive of activities where you could see that everything is done according to a plan.⁶⁶⁰ You would see women, both young and old, doing their daily tasks. They'd be seen going in and out to get water from the fountains below, collecting firewood for cooking, grinding maize, washing and other daily chores. You would see men milking cattle, spanning oxen, tanning leather, bringing logs to repair cattle kraal or courtyard fencing, and more of their daily chores. The huts at a Zulu homestead are arranged in a very specific and important way.⁶⁶¹ Nyembezi and Nxumalo are saying this about the arrangement of huts in the homestead of Zulu:

⁶⁵⁹ A.N. Zibane: *Zulu Cultural Traditions: A Draw card for Tourism in KwaZulu Natal*, with special reference to the Lebombo Spatial Development Initiative (PhD Thesis, University of Zululand), p. 121.

⁶⁶⁰ International Association for the Study of Traditional Environments: *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review: Journal of the International Association for the Study of Traditional Environments*, Volume 17, p. 74.

⁶⁶¹ A.N. Zibane: *Zulu Cultural Traditions: A Draw card for Tourism in KwaZulu Natal*, with special reference to the Lebombo Spatial Development Initiative (PhD Thesis, University of Zululand), p. 121.

Maqondana nephakathi nesibaya kunendlu yendlunkulu, inkosikazi yomnumzane ezozala indlalifa. Ekuyeleni kwesobunxele yindlu yeNggadi, elandelwa ngezinye zomakoti okuthiwa babheke ingqadi. Kanti kwesokudla yindlu yeKhohlwa.⁶⁶²

Between the upper section of the cattle kraal and the outer fence is the main hut belonging to the first wife, the one who bears an heir. On the left hand is the hut belonging to the third wife (ingqadi) and the houses of minor wives regarded as assistants to the second wife. On the right hand is the hut belonging to the second wife (ikhohlwa).

The main house hut (indlunkulu) belonged to the first woman. This is the woman who had to give birth or give birth to the family heir. The main hut is the most important hut of the entire homestead, as it served as the temple where the ancestral spirits found their abode in the upper section of the house (emsamo). The sacrificial meat was taken from the kraal and spent the night in the upper part of the main hut. This was done in good faith that the ancestors blessed the meat before it was eaten as part of the sacrificial ceremony. The main hut was the heart of the homestead, as the family's weapons were kept there, and it was also where the family visitors were entertained and housed, even if they had to spend the night.

The left section of the courtyard belonged to the third wife (ingqadi) and the minor wives who were regarded as her assistants or attendants, and the whole of her family. The right-hand section of the courtyard belonged to the second wife (ikhohlwa), her attendants and her whole family. Next to the main entrance of the homestead, one will find the huts belonging to young men (amalawu ezinsizwa). The huts of the young men were built next to the main entrance as they were seen as the security guards of the homestead. This style of having security guards house near the entrance was copied from the king's palace where you would find security guards (ogqayinyanga) next to the entrance). Each wife had huts for her young men (amalawu ezinsizwa) and visitor's huts (izindlu zezivakashi) on her section. The girls had no special huts as they slept with their mothers and grandmothers.

⁶⁶² C.L.S. Nyembezi and O.E.H.M. Nxumalo: Inqolobane Yesizwe, p. 39.

6.6. THE PROTECTION OF *UMUZI* AGAINST EVILS (UKUQINISA *UMUZI*)

It is important to state the classification of traditional Zulu medicine before describing how to protect a homestead from evil. Zulu Herbal Medicine is made from herbs, animals and mineral resources. *Izinyanga* and those who know herbal medicine understand the healing powers that are found in both animal and plant remains that can be used to support their patients. What is noticeable is that most indigenous drugs have a wide variety of applications. They will, however, be categorized according to the body structures on which they have the most control. The choice of solutions within each category depends on the particular situation. Orthodox healers of extracts of substances such as *amafutha*, snake venom (*izibiba*), single hyena fur (*udosi lwampisi*) etc. There are several plant compounds, such as *inhlaba* (aloe plant), *impepho*, etc (incense plant). Traditional healers will remove substances such as *isibabuli* (sulfur), *umanyazini* (manganese), salts and stones from mineral materials.⁶⁶³

It is the responsibility of the head of the family to ensure that his home is safe from any evil, both spiritually and physically. One might never know the difference between true friends and sworn enemies. One then takes no risks but to make sure that his homestead is safe from any bad that could hit at any moment and from any angle. As a result, the head of the family employed an expert herbalist (*inyanga*) to coin and defend the homestead (*ukuqinisa umuzi*) using traditional medicines for evil protection. By the defence of *umuzi* Khumalo states that:

Kuyisiko nomgomo ukuthi umnumzane azihluphe ngokuqinisa umuzi
koyise, kungadlaleli yonke imimoya.⁶⁶⁴

It is a custom and a procedure that a family head should worry himself about the security of his father's homestead, it should not be a playground for any evil spirits.

By asking the herbalist to use traditional remedies to secure a home, the head of the house lived an example to his successor and to the entire family that one should live a life that satisfies the ancestors. The herbalist who had come to protect the homestead requested a sacrifice of either

⁶⁶³ A.N. Zibane: Zulu Cultural Traditions: A Draw card for Tourism in KwaZulu Natal, with special reference to the Lebombo Spatial Development Initiative (PhD Thesis, University of Zululand), p. 121.

⁶⁶⁴ Z.L.M. Khumalo: *Ucwaningo olunzulu ngodwendwe lomdabu* (A critical analysis of traditional marriage) PhD Thesis, University of Natal, 1997, p. 166.

a cow or a goat to the family's ancestors. Mbiti tells the following about offerings to African holy ancestors:

Sacrifices and offerings are acts of restoring the ontological balance between God and man, spirits and man, and the departed and the living. When this balance is upset the people experience misfortunes and sufferings or fear. Sacrifices and offerings help, at least psychologically, to restore the balance.⁶⁶⁵

Therefore, before doing anything to further protect the homestead, the herbalist first asks for the blessing of the ancestors. Sacrifice is a sign of friendship and affirmation that the ancestors are the real defenders of the home. Gumede tells the following about the religious elements of the Zulu people:

The Africans have always been highly religious people for centuries upon centuries. They left no shrines and no temples as monuments to their religious zeal. They never worshipped inanimate objects such as stones, trees, forests or the sun as objects of their beliefs. Their religion was for everyday living.⁶⁶⁶

If terror occurs, the Zulu people claimed that the ancestors had their backs on the homestead. Something odd and out of the ordinary has been seen by the Zulu people as a sign that the ancestral spirits register their disapproval in no uncertain ways.

The homestead (*umuzi wawuqiniswa*) was protected for several reasons. The herbalist defended the homestead against lightning (*ukuvikela izulu*), against familiars (*izilwane zabathakathi*), witches and wizards (*abathakathi*) and evil spirits (*imimoya emibi*). In this respect of protecting the homestead from all kinds of evils, Gumede says:

A specialist in this field is called to fortify the homestead. The herbalist collects fortification pegs which are made out of either *umtulwa* or *umgwenya* (plants bearing edible fruits). The pegs are doctored with special medicines, fats and *izinsizi* which keep away thunderbolts and lightning streaks. The

⁶⁶⁵ J.S. Mbiti: *Concepts of God in Africa*, p. 179.

⁶⁶⁶ M.V. Gumede: *Traditional Healers: A medical practioner's Perspective*, p. 9.

whole job is done under cover of darkness so that neither wizard's nor familiars know where they are.⁶⁶⁷

When doctored, the pegs are mounted in the holes and coated with soil to secure the homestead in all directions of the compass. Every hut inside the homestead is also reinforced by anointing the doorposts using a mixture of animal fats and plant roots ground into powder. Members of the family shall be improved by incision (*bagcatshwe*). The incision marks (*zinhlanga*) are anointed with concoctions (*izinsizi*). Double incisions are typically made on the anterior fontanel (*ukhakhayi*), the front and back of the neck (*ngaphambili nangemuva kwentamo*), both shoulders (*emahlombe*), the solar plexus (*ucabango*), the antenatal cleft (*unsinsila*), the arms wrists (*izihlakala*) and the lower thighs (*ezinyaweni*).⁶⁶⁸

The incision marks remain there as a reminder that the incised made a vow to abide by the rules laid down by the herbalist. Among the rules, the homestead must be sprinkled (*akuchelwe*) with special medicines as instructed, the drinking water from the fountains must not reach the homestead after sunset because it will be left in the river-dwarf (*ukungenisa utikoloshe*) and other familiar. It was believed that incised and reinforced people could not lend salt, as their enemies will make it worthless as a defensive charm. They should not rent out the needles, since their rivals might be advised to inflict ailments, such as painful pains on the sides of the chest (*izibhobo*). There are also more laws and behavioural habits that people wanted to follow while their homestead was in place.⁶⁶⁹

The final session of the fortification service was the moment when the herbalist had the family members lick the fatty mixture (*ukuncinda*) from a red hot pot lid or a cracked piece of the clay pot (*udengezi*). The payment of the herbalist was a beast, according to Nxumalo and Gumede. The beast's payment demonstrated that the Zulu people loved their lives and respected the protection of their homes.⁶⁷⁰

⁶⁶⁷ M.V. Gumede: *Traditional Healers: A medical practioner's Perspective*, p. 101.

⁶⁶⁸ A.N. Zibane: *Zulu Cultural Traditions: A Draw card for Tourism in KwaZulu Natal*, with special reference to the Lebombo Spatial Development Initiative (PhD Thesis, University of Zululand), p. 133.

⁶⁶⁹ A.N. Zibane: *Zulu Cultural Traditions: A Draw card for Tourism in KwaZulu Natal*, with special reference to the Lebombo Spatial Development Initiative (PhD Thesis, University of Zululand), p. 133.

⁶⁷⁰ J.A.W. Nxumalo: *Umcebo Wolimi LwesiZulu*, p. 30; M.V. Gumede: *Traditional Healers: A medical practioner's Perspective*, p. 90.

6.7. THE ZULU CUSTOMS AND BELIEFS

Traditional Zulu faith is mainly concerned with the worship of the ancestors, who are supposed to have a strong effect on their everyday lives and conditions and thus must honour the ancestors and the traditional diviners and healers by which the ancestors express themselves.⁶⁷¹

Ngubane also states that the Zulu believe that equilibrium is important to preserve one's health, as they symbolically believe that the negative aspects of the world are the source of the misfortune or ill health, in many cases believed to be caused by ancestor's rage or pleasure.⁶⁷²

The Zulu, for example, believe that during pregnancy the foetus is vulnerable to be harmed by wizards and if she dreams of a buffalo, the baby will be a boy and if she dreams of a puffadder, it will be a girl.⁶⁷³ Thus like many of the other indigenous South African cultures, *amaZulu* believe in traditional medicine and distinguishes between the herbalist, *inyanga yokwelapha*, (making medicine from plants and animals) and the diviner, *inyanga yokubhula* (making use of bones, shells and other items) to divine their client's problems with the help of ancestors, and ritual sacrifices of goats or cattle are commonplace to keep the ancestors content. These traditional healers acquire their knowledge and skills over a long apprenticeship while the community maintains respect for their ancestors and spirits of the land, and traditional healers occupy a very high status in the Zulu society. It is however commonplace for Christianity to coexist alongside traditional beliefs.⁶⁷⁴

The belief in ancestors strongly controls the moral and social behaviour of the Zulu people. Berglund points out that the Zulu society is made up of survivors and their ancestors. The descendants cannot survive separate from the existence of their ancestors. The two are closely tied together making, the individual and the ancestor of a lineage interdependent. The importance of the ancestors to Zulu society is seen in their continuing belief in them despite the immense changes Zulu people have experienced in the last 150 years or so.⁶⁷⁵

Each Zulu traditional ceremony presupposes the ancestor cult. The *amaZulu* see it necessary that they tell their ancestors what is to happen. The key concept is that they must know about

⁶⁷¹ M. Doyle et al: Peoples of Africa: Peoples of Southern Africa - Facts on File, p. 101.

⁶⁷² H. Ngubane: Body and mind in Zulu medicine: An ethnography on health and disease in Nyuswa-Zulu thought and practice, pp. 22-27.

⁶⁷³ T.S. Mwanweda: Educational Psychology: An African Perspective, p. 406.

⁶⁷⁴ P. Magubane: Vanishing Cultures of South Africa, p. 61.

⁶⁷⁵ E.I. Berglund: Zulu Thought Patterns and Symbolism, p. 197.

the occasions. It is not sufficient to take for granted that the ancestors know what is being done on such an occasion, but they must be told of what is happening.

6.8. ZULU TRADITIONAL DRESS

Women's clothing consists of boldly coloured beads that suggest marital status, while children often go nude in subtropical weather, except for beadwork around the waist. Unmarried women go bare-brown, engaged women wear shop-brown bras to show their status and married women have to cover their heads at all times.⁶⁷⁶ While older Zulu women cover their bodies with beaded clothing and are known to wear a traditional wide hat made of straw (*isicholo*), younger girls usually wear revealing attire proudly beaded themselves. This beadwork in their clothing usually encompasses a symbolic language that may include messages of love or even reprimands or warnings, since different beads, patterns and colours carry different meanings especially significant in courtship.⁶⁷⁷

Zulu men are known to be great warriors and it is reflected in their traditional attire. They usually wear animal skin to cover their bodies and accessorise with traditional weapons during ceremonies. An ox provides hide for the shield which is a vital element of the Zulu military regalia, and the lighter the skin of the shield, the more experienced the warrior.⁶⁷⁸ Weapons include various spears, such as the *iKlwa*, as well as knobkerries (a relatively short stick with a knob at the end) and axes used by the Zulu *amabutho*.

6.9. THE SACRED ZULU BIRTH RITUAL

6.9.1. IMBELEKO

In Zulu society, the birth of a child is a moment for celebration and an important occasion because *amaZulu* believe that marriage is incomplete until a child is born. *AmaZulu* also believe that it is the ancestral spirits that create a new life in its offspring. This is the reason why, on the wedding day, the girl's father has to pray for help from the ancestors on her behalf. This is an act of detaching the umbilical connection from the mother and introducing the child to the ancestors.

⁶⁷⁶ K. Fair and A. Florence: *Zulu Traditional Customs and Culture*, p. 51.

⁶⁷⁷ Zulu Culture. *Culture of the Zulu People*. [Web:] file:///E:/ZuluCulture.htm [Date of access: 7 July 2020].

⁶⁷⁸ K. Fair and A. Florence: *Zulu Traditional Customs and Culture*, p. 51.

Most Zulu people prefer to perform this welcoming ceremony when the child is still very young and in this way the child is introduced to society. *AmaZulu*, like many other African groups, follows certain prescribed rituals after the birth of a child. These rites are more or less similar to those practised by other non-African nations such as giving a child a name when a child is brought out for the first time to be seen by relatives as well as friends.

The *imbeleko* ceremony for the child among the *amaZulu* is done once, unlike the the-birthday-party in western culture. To the *amaZulu*, the *imbeleko* ceremony is a special occasion that is specifically aimed at welcoming a new person to the family or just familiarising that new person with the new world. This ceremony is regarded as a must to perform for every child in the family. The reasons for this ceremony vary from (a) thanksgiving ceremony, (b) the official introduction of the child to ancestors, (c) the rite performed late to protect the child from misfortunes, (d) and to provide an opportunity for naming the child.

6.9.1.1 PROCESSES FOLLOWED DURING THE IMBELEKO

Before the actual ceremony, Zulu beer is brewed, once the beer is fermented the grand old lady of the house as a priestess of the family places *umancishana* (small pot of beer) at the *umsamo*. This will serve as the first offering to the ancestors. The goat is then taken to the main family hut for slaughter. It should be a goat from the family's cattle kraal. If the goat does not come from the family flock, that goat should at least be given time to eat grass from that family's garden.

Before the goat is slaughtered, the *impepho* is burnt. The burning of *impepho* is symbolic, an invitation to the ancestors because if the ceremony commences without this invitation to the ancestors, the child may not be officially welcomed. The elder reports the goat to the ancestors.

The elder talks to the burning *impepho*. While the elder is praying to the ancestors the child is expected to stroke (*phulula*) the goat. If the child is too young or scared to touch the beast, the hands of the child are guided so that it can have physical contact with the animal. The person handling the child should not touch the goat. After the prayer, the presiding elder will order the slaughter and preparation of the goat. The goat may be slaughtered in a particular hut or just outside the hut. This will depend on the wishes of the particular *umndeni*. Another important feature of the slaughter of the goat is the idea that it should bleat aloud before its actual death as an indication that it has been heard and accepted by the ancestors.

The slaughtered beast is skinned and the viscera are taken out very carefully and cleaned. *Inanzi* (the third stomach) of a goat is handed over to the grand old ladies who will keep it safe for consumption because tradition does not allow children to eat that part of the meat, owing to the belief that eating it leads to forgetfulness. On that very same evening, the whole family will consume a dish of the viscera of the goat. The goat usually is hung at the *umsamu* where the ancestral spirits dwell. This will be an indication to the ancestors that this beast is slaughtered for them. At the very same time, this will help to keep the meat so that it can be eaten the following day. *Inyongo* (bile) is poured on the child. How this rite is celebrated varies from family to family.

In ancient times it is said that normally a goat was slaughtered for a woman immediately on conceiving. Its skin then was worn over the shoulders to cover the breast and stomach throughout pregnancy. This pretty goatskin was called the *isidiya*. After delivery, the *isidiya* became an *imbeleko* (a baby carrying skin) which she later used to carry her baby upon her back. If things like miscarriage happen the *imbeleko* (carrying skin) is not thrown away, because there was always hope that another child might come. Hence in Zulu society, there is a good proverb which runs: *Akulahlwa mbeleko ngakufelwa* (The carrying-skin is not thrown away at bereavement).

6.10. THE ZULU WAY OF NURTURING A CHILD

In Zulu culture, any part of child growth is seen as a matter of special interest to parents and ancestral spirits. Parents must work along with the ancestral spirit to ensure the well-being of the infant in the home. The sacrifice is made to the spirits as soon as the infant is born. The goat is sacrificed to introduce the infant to the family, and this goat is the so-called *imbuzi yokumkhunga*.

In line with what is happening in the Zulu culture through child-rearing, Knight says from conception, every aspect of the Zulu child's development was a hedge around the ritual to ensure that it grew free of misfortunes. Strict observance had to be kept during pregnancy and labour, and the newborn baby was subjected to some important ceremonies before it could be exposed to the danger of daily life.⁶⁷⁹

⁶⁷⁹ I. Knight: *The Anatomy of the Zulu Army*, p. 48.

The ceremonies related to child-rearing were aimed at initiating the child to be absorbed into the society that is structured. The ceremonies were designed to show that everyone has a role to play in society and that society is sustained by religious beliefs. These ceremonies were aimed at teaching the younger generations that as they grow older in different stages, they need to acquire certain knowledge and skills they would need as adults. Knight stresses the point that the Zulu child is taught that the individual's identity and achievements are framed primarily by the need to belong to society.⁶⁸⁰

In Zulu culture, children are taught that *ukuhlonipha* is a very necessary way of life for the Zulu individual. Children are told not to listen to what adults are concerned about, young people have to waste more time outdoors playing sports rather than listening. They're even taught that they don't have to look the elders in the eye. They must not disagree with people, must not deny if an adult wants them to do anything even if they are not their parent or relative. Children were not permitted to call adults by their first names. When the adult talks, they must be standing, they must not rise straight, they must crouch in front of him or her if they listen.

They were told that anytime you need something at home, he/she will speak to the mother, and then the mother will talk to the father about it. Adults must be served first when it comes to service. When a young person gets something from an adult, he/she must take it in both hands to display a token of gratitude. The use of one hand is a symbol of disrespect. Men don't wear caps and hats while they're alone inside the home. They have to be taken off, and each person brings his next to where he is seated. The young Zulu individual is supposed to stand up and give an adult a seat in the house, trains and buses. Young people are not allowed to make noise in the presence of adults. This *ukuhlonipha* goes on as this young person grows up. When he/she is grown enough to have a boyfriend or girlfriend it becomes a secret. In a traditional Zulu way of life, there is no such thing as the introduction of a boyfriend at one's home. The only time that a boyfriend is known is when he begins to pay *lobola*.

6.11. CULTURAL ACTIVITIES AMONG AMAZULU

Several traditional activities within the Zulu culture are specifically catered for girls and boys. It is important to state that these ceremonies are a product of Zulu history and up to this day, even though the part of the current Zulu culture has been modernized and even changed, but most of the *amaZulu* are still holding on to the culture from the earliest times. It is important

⁶⁸⁰ Ibid, pp. 48-49.

to state that all the cultural activities to be discussed here remain part and parcel of the Zulu culture and can be attributed to Zulu history from the earliest.

6.11.1. UMHLONYANA

This ceremony is usually done when a girl starts having her period. It was performed by *omama* who would do a cleansing ritual for the girl as usually when the girl starts having her period she could easily fall pregnant. The *umhlonyana* ceremony is made for a girl who has just reached *ukuthomba* (puberty stage). The girl who is expected to undergo the *umhlonyana* ceremony follows a certain procedure. According to Zulu customs, the girl informs *iqhikiza* (the senior girl in charge of other girls) that she has entered the stage. The senior girl in charge of other girls will in turn inform the elders. After this, the parents will organise the date for the ceremony to be performed. The girl who has reached puberty will be expected to undergo a period of *ukugonqa* (isolation). She stays there at an isolated place for weeks. During the time of *ukugonqa*, the girl must not be exposed to people and the sun. During the period of *ukugonqa*, only her age mates must look for her and cook food for her.

Zulu customs indicate that on the last day, her age mates who have helped her during her isolation period must accompany her to her father to ask for the goat to be slaughtered for her *umhlonyana*. They approach the father singing Zulu songs. Custom says that all the dirt from the house she was confined to must be collected and burnt. The fire is made in front of the house she had been isolated into. The custom says the girl for whom *umhlonyana* is made for must be the first to jump over the flames of this fire and her age mates will follow her.

After this, they will go to the nearby river where they are expected to wash their bodies. They are also expected to shave their hair off while they are in the river. The father of the girl is expected to go to the river and lead the girls back home. After they arrive at the home they will then march to *esigcawini* where the Zulu dance will be performed.

6.11.2. UMKHOSI WOMHLANGA (REED DANCE)

The reed ceremony involves young teenage women. The Reed Dance Ceremony is held every year in September, a suitable time, with mild weather and no heavy rains experienced. Usually, it is held in the second week of September. It is held at Enyokeni Royal Palace (kwaNongoma), home to the present Zulu Monarch, King Zwelethini kaBhekuzulu.⁶⁸¹ The function of this

⁶⁸¹ C.T.M. Msimang: Kusadliwa ngoludala, p. 80.

ceremony is to encourage unmarried girls to behave well and for this reason, a virginity test is carried out to ensure that they are pure (they are still virgins).

On the day of the Reed Dance Ceremony, the girls on their adolescence stage bring the reeds to the palace. The procession is usually led by princesses from the Royal Family who are the first to present their reeds to the king, who is flanked by a full regiment of Zulu traditional leaders. The older matrons, who oversee the event and instruct the young girls in their preparation for womanhood, are just as colourfully dressed in ornate headdresses and cowhide skirts.⁶⁸² During this ceremony, girls are also expected not to cover their breasts and buttocks. The vagina, however, is covered by the *isigege*, which is made of beads. The ceremony takes place before a large crowd comprising of family members, community members and whosoever wishes to attend, with no exception.⁶⁸³

Usually, the reeds were used by the king in the palace huts and make granaries for storing food for the palace residents. Besides the bringing of the reeds for various uses in the palace, many other cultural activities are observed and performed on the day such as singing and dancing. One day, the Zulu king get the opportunity to address the girls and the nation about what the Zulu people should cherish most about their culture. It is this day that the monarch reminds the nation about how and why should the people preserve the beauty of the Zulu cultural traditions.

Zulu traditionalists believe that the Reeds Dance fosters self-esteem, strengthens the community, provides a strong cultural identity and finally contributes to nation-building. The Reed Dance was initiated by Emperor Shaka during his reign. The ceremony is about young girls presenting reeds to the King to demonstrate their virginity. The Reed Dance Ceremony used to be predominantly attended by the Zulu people. The tendency has shifted to reflect the rainbow audience of democratic South Africa, all races are today teeming to have a view of this colourful event. This means that the content of this culture has been modified to cater for other programmes of nation-building, including an awareness campaign against HIV/Aids. Another element that indicates that the Reeds Dance ceremony has transformed remarkably since its inception is the attendance of foreign nationals and different races.

⁶⁸² B. Hopwood: Zululand Heritage Route 66: A Journey through the Heart and Pulse of the Zulu Kingdom, p.46.

⁶⁸³ R.C. Samuelson: Long Long Ago, p. 250.

The entire idea behind the ceremony is to emphasize the importance of chastity for girls before marriage. The king also gets an opportunity to address the nation about the plagues that tear down the societal structures, such as drug abuse, HIV/AIDS, women and children abuse and many more issues. The central issues are respect, safety, hospitality towards all and overall human empowerment through education.

6.11.3. UMEMULO

Umemulo ceremony was performed for the girl who has retained her virginity and has reached an age which is regarded as the adult stage. By this ceremony, she celebrates her virginity and is permitted to choose a partner if she has not yet done so. Krige refers to the *umemulo* ceremony as the stage where the child reaches a marriageable stage. She says it is a stage anywhere after the girl has reached puberty.⁶⁸⁴ This ceremony is traditionally held for a girl reaching the physical condition necessary for the marriageable state. Most Zulu people think it is very necessary to honour their daughters through this ceremony. In olden times, the *ukwemula* was the first step to take when a girl felt that she was ready to be married. To most, it is a custom that must be observed this be done before a girl marries because if it was not done their daughter will face problems in her marriage. After all, the ancestors will not have been told about the girls coming of age. In some families, the *ukwemula* ceremony is only seen as sufficient for the first daughter in the family.

The main function of this ceremony is that it marks a transitional period from childhood to adulthood and acknowledges the father's knowledge about what is happening to his daughter.⁶⁸⁵ Through this ceremony, he is liberating her daughter from her sexual abstinence, but this does not mean she has to be free and reckless about her sexuality. At this time the girl is under supervision and guidance from the older girls (*amaqhikiza*) in the society. The young girls were coached on how to speak to their *izesheli* (wooers). They were not to fall in love until they had been permitted to do so. This process was called *ukujutshwa*.⁶⁸⁶

The ceremony is performed to make the girl happy and to show her appreciation for her good character. The father also thanked the ancestors for giving him a daughter and for looking after her. The father then expresses his great joy by giving what is valued most highly by the

⁶⁸⁴ E.J. Krige: *The Social System of the Zulus*, p. 103.

⁶⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁶ A.N. Zibane: *Zulu Cultural Traditions: A Draw card for Tourism in KwaZulu Natal*, with special reference to the Lebombo Spatial Development Initiative (PhD Thesis, University of Zululand), p. 167.

amaZulu, an ox, part of which is for the ancestors. He slaughters a beast for his daughter also to congratulate her for reaching or passing a certain age (usually twenty-one years), as most of the ceremonies I attended and watched on video indicated. This version is an adaptation of the Western “coming of age”, at the twenty-first birthday.

By carrying out *ukwemula* for his daughter, the father introduces his daughter into adulthood. Hence the *umemulo* is normally referred to as *ukukhulisa intombazane* (to cause her to grow and acknowledge her coming of age). The performance of this ceremony means becoming a new social entity for the girl, she enters adulthood. Success in the changed status needs an ancestral blessing, which it is believed can be secured by placing the girl in a separate room where the ancestors can easily reach her. She, therefore, enters the *umgonqo* before the *umemulo* day of celebration.

6.11.3.1. UKUGONQA

The commencement of the celebration is marked by the girl being kept in strict isolation when she enters *umgonqo*. This is an isolation hut in which a girl stays with her age-mates. In this hut, they live an isolated and strictly regulated life. The girl is meant to stay in the isolation hut for about a week (depending on whether she attends school, is working, is on holiday or is always at home) before the *umemulo* day of celebration. But in the olden days because there were not such responsibilities as they are today the girl would sit in the isolation hut for a whole week.

While she is there she is not allowed to leave this hut except at night, when fewer people can see her. Isolation ensures that she is not affected in any way by witchcraft, for this is the period during which she must be more conversant with the ancestors. It is believed that the ancestors in turn would give her blessings for her new state. Whoever wants to see the girl or give her a gift has to come to her hut, not outside the room. Whenever she goes out of the *umgonqo* even for a limited period, she adopts a shy attitude. Raum says that neither the parents nor her brothers may enter the hut. He further says when speaking to these people she must whisper. He then reckons special practices associated with the girl's isolation in this way: a) she must not talk much, be noisy or laugh aloud, for fear of becoming a habitual scolder of her husband.

b) She drinks water medicated with a pinch of ash to make her good cook) She is prohibited to take sour milk.⁶⁸⁷

While in the isolation hut, the girl puts red ochre (*ibomvu*) on her face, arms and legs. Girls who are her age-mates are invited to keep her company during her isolation. The other girls only put the ochre on their faces. This is a mark referred to as indicating isolation and meant to invite the ancestor's presence. He says men are not meant to see girls that have red ochre on their faces, hence on seeing these girls they should run away from them. This would be done by men because of respect they have for the ceremonies and the ancestors subsequently in which there is smearing on of the ochre. During the isolation period, a girl is believed to be more in contact with the ancestors.⁶⁸⁸

While in isolation the girl is warned by elderly women. She is told about accepted behaviour patterns as she is now entering a new stage in life which is womanhood. She is advised about the behaviour expected in the new stage and the responsibilities associated with it. For a young girl to stay in the *umgonqo* is not a nice experience because there are several things that a girl is not permitted to do. To liberate a girl from *umgonqo* a goat is slaughtered or and in our days' money is given to her. The girl's father thereafter slaughters a beast for the girl. But before there beast is slaughtered the girl is asked to go and see the beast to be slaughtered. Women will ululate and girls will perform a traditional dance. People are invited to the *umemulo* ceremony to feast, dance and sing. According to Zulu custom, the ceremony informs the girl that she is ready for marriage. It is regarded as the girl's father's permission granted to his daughter to look about for a husband.

6.11.3.2. THE ACTUAL DAY OF UMEMULO

After a week, when the isolation is over, the girl is released and the celebration is held on the actual *umemulo* day. Raum refers to this day as "the coming out" pointing out that it is a release rite.⁶⁸⁹ On this day the girl's marriageable state is publicly recognised. The girl and her age-mates who stayed with her in the *umgonqo* wear *izidwaba*, borrowed from an older woman. Nowadays the traditional attire can also be hired from shops specialising in traditional wear. Wearing *izidwaba* indicates a new state, i.e. of readiness to marry.

⁶⁸⁷ F.O. Raum: The Social functions of avoidances and Taboos amongst the Zulu, p. 280.

⁶⁸⁸ C.T. Msimang: Kusadliwa Ngoludala, p. 216.

⁶⁸⁹ F.O. Raum: The Social functions of avoidances and Taboos amongst the Zulu, p. 282.

On the day of *umemulo*, the girl and her age-mates go out of the *umgonqo* very early in the morning. They wash off the red ochre from their faces in the nearby river. For the girl, the washing of the *ibomvu* suggests relief from the constraints to which she had been subjected and freedom to be spoken to even by men. The girls then go to a place far away from home, they stay there until they are called. They temporarily wait either under a tree, next to a friend's or relative's house or just in an open space not visible from home. They stay there until the girl's father sends a message calling them back. Coming back they sing special songs relevant to, the occasion.

The *umemulo* ceremony is characterized by song and dance, happy times, plenty of beers and meat for everyone to enjoy the festivity. Dalrymple says that *umemulo* dance is performed by the person whom *umemulo* is made for and her companions. Songs and dance are seldom privately performed but they are usually part of a public function intending to demonstrate that something significant is happening in the family.⁶⁹⁰ One sees girls representing their promises and wishes in a symbolic way. This they express in and with their bodies, voice, dance and faces. The beast's caul (*umhlwehlwe*) is put by the girl's father over the girl's shoulders and breast which Msimang says is meant to invite the ancestors for the girl's good.⁶⁹¹ While performing this ceremony the father addresses the ancestors, thanking them for taking care of his daughter, for having looked after her well-being and further asks for more blessings on her behalf.

The father and his daughter then go to the chosen open area, the *isigcawu* where the rest of the performance is to be held. This is the meeting place where everybody has been waiting for them. The pouring of the gall on the girl is not done in front of everybody invited to the ceremony. This proves that the gall is very precious and delicate, as it is associated with the ancestors who are believed to shape the fate of persons who belong to them. Therefore the *amaZulu* treat the gall very dearly and carefully.

6.11. UDWENDWE (ZULU TRADITIONAL WEDDING)

The traditional Zulu wedding ceremony is short of words to explain it to the fullest. Typically, the first step is for the boy to inform his father that he had found a girl of his dreams to make his wife, the arrangements for the marriage talks will begin. Normally, the boy would not report directly to his father but would do so through his mother, uncle, or other relatives he believed

⁶⁹⁰ L.I. Dalrymple, L.I. Ritual Performance and Theatre, with special reference to with Zulu Ceremonial (MA Thesis) University of Natal, 1983, p. 155.

⁶⁹¹ C.T. Msimang: Kusadliwa Ngoludala, p. 248.

to have been tactful in approaching the father as the head of the family. The father would then ask a respected man in the neighbourhood to go to the would-be bride's family to negotiate marital terms and *lobola* (dowry or bride's price).

The man sent for marriage negotiations is called *umkhongi* (negotiator). Before the negotiator goes on his mission, the boy's father gathers his family members and close relatives to discuss the terms and *lobola* arrangements. From now on the *umkhongi* will act as a tactful and trusted Master of Ceremonies between the two families; that of a bride and a bridegroom.⁶⁹² Time has affected many things as some children now freely discuss these with their parents. In this process, some of the things are not done the way they were done in the past.

In Zulu culture, the day before the *abakhongi* (Umkhongi and his companions) set out on their quest, the father (family head) would kill the goat to announce the case to the family ancestors. This is done to ask the ancestors to make the trip and the marriage negotiations a success. Any of the meat and sorghum beer is provided to the negotiators as their supply for the journey. Now that everything has improved as a result of time, people are now living in cars quickly. In the old days, it was beneficial when the delegates travelled long distances, needing food and alcohol. Sorghum beer is brewed as part of a ceremonial offering. In Zulu, the first visit to the bride's family is referred to as 'fire lighting,' '*ukokha umlilo*'.⁶⁹³ It is referred to as such because it is a sign of warmth,' so the two families are meant to be connected in a warm relationship.⁶⁹⁴

The main negotiator is normally the trusted man in the neighbourhood. It is unusual to have a family member as the main negotiator. These negotiators are the ambassadors of their family and they are advisors to one another. They are sent to establish a new relationship between the two families, that of a bride and a bridegroom. The negotiators are the eyes and ears, the mouthpiece of the groom's father who sent them. Therefore they have to speak fluently and respectfully, listen very carefully and help each other to convey the messages between the families correctly. The person outside the family is purposely taken as a negotiator because it is believed he can listen, judge and act responsibly. He may not be like a family member who

⁶⁹² A.N. Zibane: Zulu Cultural Traditions: A Draw card for Tourism in KwaZulu Natal, with special reference to the Lebombo Spatial Development Initiative, p. 53.

⁶⁹³ Z.L.M. Khumalo: The Portrayal of Themes in Bloese's Uqomisa Mina Nje Uqomisa Illba (MA, University of Zululand, 1995), p. 95.

⁶⁹⁴ A.N. Zibane: Zulu Cultural Traditions: A Draw card for Tourism in KwaZulu Natal, with special reference to the Lebombo Spatial Development Initiative, pp. 53-54.

might find himself easily overwhelmed by jealousy and hatred for the good things happening for the other family member.⁶⁹⁵

He might find himself turning up against the whole *lobola* negotiators and tangle things up on purpose. Therefore the negotiator from outside the family unit is preferred on these grounds, and that he might become a friend who sticks closer than a brother. This thing of being the main negotiator does not end with the wedding ceremony. It goes beyond that, the negotiator becomes the counsellor, confidante and mentor for the newly formed family unit. The man easily approaches his main negotiator when things got tough in their marriage. The bride is also free and feels comfortable to talk to her negotiator for advice on marriage and related issues.⁶⁹⁶

The *abakhongi* (umkhongi and his companions) wake up early in the morning to reach the bride's homestead before they wake up. They stand by the main gate; the Zulu custom says that you don't enter into another man's homestead without announcing your arrival (uyakhuleka emzini wendoda). This saluting your arrival at the gate is supposed to be done by anyone visiting the homestead. You receive a quick and hearty welcome if you announce your arrival by shouting or singing the clan praises (izithakazelo) of the family you are visiting. But to distinguish the visit from the normal visit, the *umkhongi* would make it clear that he is sent by a certain family to request for *isihlobo esihle*.⁶⁹⁷

While standing by the gate the *umkhongi* would mention all the cattle by their colours. To tempt their in-laws to welcome them, they would also mention heifers with beautiful colours as they know the heifers mean wealth as they are going to give birth and make the cattle kraal full, the pride and wealth of a Zulu man. They are mentioning the cattle by colours to show that they are fully prepared for the *lobola* to be negotiated. The mentioning of the *lobola* cattle at the gate is an oratory and precious technique in itself.⁶⁹⁸ This custom of shouting the clan praises and tabulating beautiful colours and description of *lobola* cattle is a way of softening the family

⁶⁹⁵ M.E. Mnguni: An investigation into the commercial and the Zulu traditional modes of slaughtering, butchering, culinary properties and service with special reference to socio-cultural ritual behaviors in KwaZulu-Natal (M TECH, Durban University of Technology, 2006), p. 143.

⁶⁹⁶ A.N. Zibane: Zulu Cultural Traditions: A Draw card for Tourism in KwaZulu Natal, with special reference to the Lebombo Spatial Development Initiative, pp. 58-59.

⁶⁹⁷ M.E. Mnguni: An investigation into the commercial and the Zulu traditional modes of slaughtering, butchering, culinary properties and service with special reference to socio-cultural ritual behaviors in KwaZulu-Natal (M TECH, Durban University of Technology, 2006), p. 152.

⁶⁹⁸ A.N. Zibane: Zulu Cultural Traditions: A Draw card for Tourism in KwaZulu Natal, with special reference to the Lebombo Spatial Development Initiative, p. 56.

head, the father of the bride. Msimang states that it is praiseworthy that the negotiator announces his arrival with beautiful and young cattle (heifers), their colours being breathtaking. He further argues that the mentioning of the colour of cows is purposely done to lure the bride's father into seeing that you mean business about his daughter.⁶⁹⁹ The point of young and beautiful *lobola* cattle is very important in Zulu culture. It is regarded as an insult or taboo to use aged cattle for *lobola*, as it is also not welcome to use calves or an ox.

The other members of the groom's family are not allowed to speak to the negotiators at the gate if the family head has not yet said anything about them. It is a culture that the family head takes his time to test the patience of the negotiators. The negotiators never give up announcing their presence even if they see that they are being ignored. The negotiators are prepared for whatever situation comes their way. They do not give up until they get what they are pleading for, the wife of their brother or son. The negotiators, therefore, remain patient, rain or shine they stand and announce their presence until the head of the family permits them to enter.⁷⁰⁰

As the negotiators are directed to the main hut, they never cease to politely say their respectful greetings and appreciation. Even if they don't speak, how they walk shows respect. The negotiators know that the hut they are directed to is where the family ancestral spirits dwell, therefore any disrespectful conduct would discredit them and possibly make them pay a heavy fine (*inhlawulo*). These matters are discussed within the main hut of the homestead (*indlunkulu*). The main house is the house belonging to the first wife or main wife. The main hut is regarded as the temple of the homestead. It is here in this hut where sacrificial ceremonies and family matters are conducted.

When the negotiators enter the main shelter, they will either meet family members alone in the hut or they will quickly be pursued by family members. The chief negotiator is the first to welcome the whole house and ask for their well-being. He welcomes them kindly and respectfully, including his clan's praises or names, to put himself and the people assembled at ease. It is important to state that before even the wedding takes place, the bridegroom must have paid the dowry to the bride's father.⁷⁰¹ It is also of importance to state that usually the dowry were cattle but in the modern time we have seen dowry being money but some are still

⁶⁹⁹ C.T. Msimang: *Kusadliwa ngoludala*, p. 254.

⁷⁰⁰ Z.L.M. Khumalo: *Ucwaningo olunzulu ngodwendwe lomdabu*. (A critical Analysis of traditional marriage). Durban. Dept. of Oral Studies, University of Natal, p. 48.

⁷⁰¹ R.C. Samuelson: *Long Long Ago*, p. 321.

following the olden way of using cattle. In Zulu, a traditional wedding cannot take place if the groom has not paid his *lobola* in full as determined by the groom's father. *Lobola* is the ceremony that marks the passing of cattle from the potential groom's family to the bride-to-be's family.

The motive for this exchange was to cement the friendship between the two families. However, in recent times this has changed as some family try to enrich themselves through the exchange of gifts between two families. For instance, in recent times we have seen families exchanging cars, furniture, etc. as part of this exchange. The primary motive of the *lobola* is to compensate for the loss of the daughter, as the father receives something in return of great value, namely ten heads of cattle. An eleventh cow goes to the bride's mother for her personal use.⁷⁰² The purpose of *lobola* is therefore two-fold: firstly it cements the friendship between two families and secondly it compensates for the loss of a daughter and the domestic labour that she represents.⁷⁰³

6.12.1. THE LOBOLA TERMS

The number of cattle required for *lobola* differs according to the status of the bride's father in the community, as well as whether the girl was a virgin or had a child or two before marriage. The status of the father of the bride in the community meant that the ordinary citizen received eleven cattle, the ten belonging to the father and the eleventh cow belongs to the mother of the bride (*inkomo kanina*). The eleventh or the mother's cow needs special attention. It is only requested by the mother only because her child has been examined and found to be a virgin. The bridegroom pays the eleventh cow in the hope and thanksgiving that his bride-to-be has kept her virginity until marriage. This is confirmed by Khumalo who argues that the family request the eleventh cow in the full knowledge that their girl is a true virgin.⁷⁰⁴ This means that the family cannot request the eleventh cow if the girl is no longer a virgin, not just on the ground that she never had a child, although she was sexually active before marriage. The headman (*induna*) received sixteen, while the *inkosi* received between twenty and thirty heads

⁷⁰² J. Laband: *Rope of Sand: The Rise of the Zulu Kingdom in the nineteenth Century*, p. 5.

⁷⁰³ M.C. Dube: *The Tourism Potential of Zululand North of the Tugela River with special reference to Zulu culture and history* (M.A. Dissertation submitted at University of Zululand, 2011), pp. 22-23.

⁷⁰⁴ Z.L.M. Khumalo: *Ucwaningo olunzulu ngodwendwe lomdabu*. (A critical Analysis of traditional marriage). PhD Thesis. Dept. of Oral Studies, University of Natal, p. 76.

of cattle. The Royal Family received up to a hundred heads of cattle, as they are the kings and respected members of the whole Zulu state.

The negotiators normally know the number of cattle *lobola* cattle allocated to the family before they go into the process. They get this information from their bride, who asks her mother about it in turn. But though they do know, they never say that they know the number of *lobola* cattle if the father of the bride asks them. If they say yes, they know they can be charged, so how are they doing now with the family matters as strangers? In these cases, the family representative will then detail the number of *lobola* cattle and other usual procedures followed by the family. It is normally the prerogative of the family council to decide and ask that all the *lobola* be the live animals or cash as it is nowadays. It occurs in some situations where the negotiator realizes that they don't have all the *lobola* cattle would ask their in-laws to accept what they have and to marry their girl.⁷⁰⁵

6.12.2. IZIBIZO

When the *lobola* payments have been completed, there comes the point at which the negotiators are informed or given a list of the items that form part of the *lobola* negotiations. Traditionally, this requires a list of individuals who are eligible to collect *izibizo*. Typically, the bride gives presents to the head of the household, and his elder brothers, their wives, their heirs, and their last-born sons, are the eligible people. It is not the bride's duty to determine who gets to give a present, but the head of the family shall provide a list of all those who are eligible to receive those presents.

It is also necessary to mention that the groom will present *ijazi*, *isigqoko*, *umkhonto*, umbrella, bicycle and other things to the father of the bride's father. It is, therefore, necessary to state that these gifts vary from place to place. But those listed as belonging to the father of the bride are usually found to be part of the artefacts in many places. Spears or umbrellas will be used by the father of the bride and his brothers to differentiate them on the wedding day (*oyise bomntwana*).⁷⁰⁶ Khumalo says that the *ijazi* was very significant since it was distinguished by a man who had offered his daughter in marriage, and you could see that he showed off.⁷⁰⁷ The

⁷⁰⁵ A.N. Zibane: Zulu Cultural Traditions: A Draw card for Tourism in KwaZulu Natal, with special reference to the Lebombo Spatial Development Initiative, pp. 54-56.

⁷⁰⁶ A.N. Zibane: Zulu Cultural Traditions: A Draw card for Tourism in KwaZulu Natal, with special reference to the Lebombo Spatial Development Initiative, pp. 66-67.

⁷⁰⁷ Z.L.M. Khumalo: Ucwangingo olunzulu ngodwendwe lomdabu. (A critical Analysis of traditional marriage). Durban. Dept. of Oral Studies, University of Natal, pp. 83-84.

izibizo women placed on their list will include *amatshalo*, *amaduku asekhanda*, *amaphinifa*, and other items.⁷⁰⁸

Above the dressing items requested by the bride's family, the mother-in-law asks for a huge three-legged pot. This big pot is the one that the family uses when cooking meat and brewing sorghum beer for great sacrifices and associated big family festivals. The three-legged pot is obligatory and marriage cannot take place without it being made known to the families of the bride. Giving proof to this Khumalo claims that if the three-legged pot is not made available, everything will come to a standstill. He further suggests that it is a pot that symbolizes the peace of the two families brought together by the love of the two persons anointed by the Maker. In short, the third leg is the Creator.⁷⁰⁹

The three legs represent the love triangle that should exist in the family unit. The bride and the groom are represented by the two legs of the pot. The pot cannot stand on two legs, therefore for the pot to stand needs the third leg. The third leg represents the Creator, who creates and sustains a marriage. The three-legged pot also symbolized the relationship between the bride's and the groom's families which is supported and sustained by the Creator. The two families cannot on their help the family of their respective offspring unless they call upon the third leg, the supernatural power to intervene.⁷¹⁰

After the *lobola* and associated *lobola* terms have been agreed, the negotiators are given refreshments. The bride's grandmothers (*izalukazi*) are given a chance to ask for their snuff (*ugwayi wezalukazi*) and to say farewell to the negotiators. In our days, the grandchildren would be given a few cash to buy their snuff, but in the old days, when there was no money, the negotiators would come with a snuff for the grandmas. It is also at this period that the delegates are getting to meet the elderly members of the family. The delegates go back to reflect on the day's proceedings and the *lobola* settlements signed or achieved.

⁷⁰⁸ M.E. Mnguni: An investigation into the commercial and the Zulu traditional modes of slaughtering, butchering, culinary properties and service with special reference to socio-cultural ritual behaviors in KwaZulu-Natal (M TECH, Durban University of Technology, 2006), pp. 152-153.

⁷⁰⁹ Z.L.M. Khumalo: *Ucwaningo olunzulu ngodwendwe lomdabu*. (A critical Analysis of traditional marriage). Durban. Dept. of Oral Studies, University of Natal, p. 90.

⁷¹⁰ A.N. Zibane: *Zulu Cultural Traditions: A Draw card for Tourism in KwaZulu Natal*, with special reference to the Lebombo Spatial Development Initiative, p. 69.

6.12.3. THE BRIDAL PARTY VISITS THE GROOM'S HOME

Before the articles and the *lobola* cattle are brought to the bride's place, it is customary that the father of the bride and his entourage go to the groom's place to see the *lobola* cattle. They need to get there at dawn, the perfect time to see the cattle before they are let out for grazing. The negotiator welcomes them in the name of the family and introduces them to the groom's father, who then directs them to the cattle kraal. The boys are ordered to let the other cattle out until the *lobola* cattle remain in the kraal for the entourage to see and appreciate. Msimang says the father of the groom could be heard saying:

Nakho-ke name Mlingani engikuyenga ngakho.⁷¹¹

Here is what I present to you as a way of enticing you.

The Fellow-in-law (uMlingani) and his company were consequently taken to the hut. A huge castrated goat (intondolo) is then seen to be killed in part as an offering to the ancestors reporting their presence and the intention of their visit. The goat is often partially slaughtered to seal the bond between the two families and to encourage them to openly engage and partake in everything the family eats (indlakudla). The father of the bride will offer a vote of gratitude on behalf of his business and the entire family and their ancestors for how they were received by their fellow-laws.⁷¹²

As a token of a warm welcome to the groom's house, the bride's father is offered the entire breast (isifuba) and the skin of the sacrificial goat to take home. The remainder of the meat is grilled and eaten in the groom's house. The breast is fried as the father of the bride comes home and the entire family loves the meal. The skin is tanned to be used as a sitting mat (isikhumba sokuhlala) for the father of the bride. It remains a souvenir of his warm welcome to his in-laws.⁷¹³

It is possible to send the izibizo and the lobola cattle to the bride's homestead until the above tradition has been followed. They are either the first items to be carried (izibizo zihamba phambili) or they are brought along with the lobola cattle. Usually, the izibizo led the taking of the lobola cattle. On the day of the taking of items and lobola cattle, the negotiators will be

⁷¹¹ C.T. Msimang: Kusadliwa Ngoludala, p. 272.

⁷¹² A.N. Zibane: Zulu Cultural Traditions: A Draw card for Tourism in KwaZulu Natal, with special reference to the Lebombo Spatial Development Initiative, p. 70.

⁷¹³ A.N. Zibane: Zulu Cultural Traditions: A Draw card for Tourism in KwaZulu Natal, with special reference to the Lebombo Spatial Development Initiative, p. 70.

assisted by women's folk who will help distribute and present the articles for the womenfolk on the bride's family. The wife of the main negotiator and the elder sister of the groom are the suitable candidates for this job. The bride's family members who receive the goods or articles are made to wear them to see if they fit. This is accompanied by shouts of joy (*ukukikizela*) and the performance of a traditional war dance (*ukugiya*) to show how happy they are to receive such articles.⁷¹⁴

The negotiator would use this time when everybody is happy to settle down to business. He would request to be given a date for the wedding ceremony. He knows that everything builds up to this big event, the hallmark of transition from boyhood to manhood, from girlhood to womanhood. Unfortunately, the negotiators are told not to hurry things up. They are given a date on which the bride's father would like his son-in-law to visit his homestead and spend the night. The negotiators are given a goat to take back home, the goat is a token given to the main negotiator for doing his job properly and bringing the required articles and *lobola* cattle.⁷¹⁵

6.12.4. THE GROOM AT THE BRIDE'S HOME

The bride's father requests his son-in-law to spend the night at his homestead for two main reasons. He wants to observe what kind of a person his son-in-law is, and secondly to let him be seen and blessed by the ancestors (*akhothwe ngamadlozi*) before being given a date for the wedding. The son-in-law is accompanied by his main negotiator and one or two of his sisters. The groom spends the night with his negotiator and one of the boys of the family. The groom's sisters spend the night getting to know their sister-in-law. Early the next morning they are shown the goat to be slaughtered to allow the groom and his family to partake of any food given to them by their in-laws from then and in the future (*indlakudla yomkhwenyana*).⁷¹⁶ Msimang says the following about the bride's father's purpose of inviting the groom into his homestead:

Mkhwenyana! Okokuqala ngithi angibonge ngezinkomo ongilobolele ngazo.
Okwesibili ngithi yemukela nasi isijingi sakho. Ngaso ngithi
usungumntanami, ngikuzele namuhla.⁷¹⁷

⁷¹⁴ Ibid, pp. 70-71.

⁷¹⁵ Ibid.

⁷¹⁶ A.N. Zibane: *Zulu Cultural Traditions: A Draw card for Tourism in KwaZulu Natal*, with special reference to the Lebombo Spatial Development Initiative, pp. 70-71.

⁷¹⁷ C.T. Msimang: *Kusadliwa Ngoludala*, p. 273.

Son-in-law! Firstly, I would like to thank you for the *lobola* cattle you gave me. Secondly, I say take this pumpkin porridge. Therewith I say you are my son, I have begotten you as from today.

The pumpkin porridge the in-law refers to is that goat slaughtered for the groom and his company. He is sealing the relationship which has been established between the young couple and their respective families. As of this day, the son-in-law is no longer a stranger in the family, but one of the family. The groom was allowed to know his in-laws family council. The groom and his negotiator were given the wedding date. They set out with joy in their hearts to bring the good news to their family. All the customs to be discussed here are engaged upon as soon as the *lobola* negotiations are completed. These customs show that everything is heading towards the *udwendwe* (the traditional Zulu wedding ceremony).

6.12.5. UMBONDO

The Zulu people always show their gratefulness by acting out. The arrival of the *lobola* cattle was also welcomed by the family of the bride. The boys of the bride's family showered the newly arrived *lobola* cattle with *umquba* (cattle compost). This was done to incorporate the newly arrived cattle into the family herd. The researcher also remembers that during his early age even if it's not *lobola* cattle but the arrival of the cattle into the family herd was marked by this process of being showered by *umquba*. In Zulu culture, if these cattle arrive, the father of the bride would slaughter a goat to report to the ancestors their arrival into the family. In Zulu culture whenever a father wishes to slaughter a goat or a cow, there must be brewed beer. As a result, the bride and her mother will brew beer for family and friends. It is not hidden that they are brewing beer for the thanksgiving ceremony for the arrival of the *lobola* cattle. This process in isiZulu is called *umbondo/ingqibamasondo*.⁷¹⁸

Because of humanness in Zulu culture, the neighbours and friends helped by brewing their beer to add to what the bride's family had prepared. This process is of bringing what the had prepared is called *baletha iminjonjo*. They also bring all sorts of food such as fresh maize cobs, pumpkins, watermelons, sweet potatoes and various available fruit and vegetables taken together with pots of beer to the groom's place on a set date. These fruits and vegetables are loaded on dishes, clay pots and baskets. On the day of the *umbondo* ceremony, the young girls

⁷¹⁸ A.N. Zibane: Zulu Cultural Traditions: A Draw card for Tourism in KwaZulu Natal, with special reference to the Lebombo Spatial Development Initiative, p. 74.

and young men of the community carry these food parcels to the groom's place. Because young people cannot go alone, they are accompanied by a few numbers of adults who will supervise them. The food dishes and drinks are called *umbondo*, and the whole ceremony is called *ingqibamasondo*, which can be translated, "covering the hoofs trail of the *lobola* cattle."⁷¹⁹

Through this ceremony, the bride was given a platform to show that the groom's family should not feel hurt by the cattle they have offered to the bride's family because, in turn, they have received someone to be of help to the homestead by providing the whole family with food. This ceremony is led by the bride. As the bride leads the entourage of the ceremony, she shows that whatever she brings is not enforced on her by anyone. By this ceremony, she is taking an oath that the *lobola* cattle have been accepted, and shall never be returned. Through this ceremony, she is grateful for being honoured for having been seen as worthy of becoming a wife.

The bride, through the *ingqibamasondo* ceremony, is verifying what Msimang and Ntuli say about the *lobola* custom:

ilobolo singalibala njengeline lamasiko esiZulu amahle kakhulu. Labe liyisipho ... intombazane iyigugu. Wayethi epha ngesinye isandla naye emukela ngesinye ukuze kugcwaliseke izwi labadala elithi, "Imikhombe iyananana".⁷²⁰

Lobola can be counted as one of the most beautiful Zulu customs. *Lobola* was a gift.... to show the girl is treasurable. The person gives in one hand and receives in another hand to fulfil the saying, "A good turn deserves another."

The *ingqibamasondo* ceremony revolved around the idea of a good turn that deserves another good turn. When the bride and her company enter the groom's place, they are welcomed by *ukukikiza* from the groom's family members, their neighbours, relatives and community people who had come to witness the event. After they arrive at the groom's place, the father of the groom orders the beast to be slaughtered. Zulu culture dictates that the skinning and distribution of the meat portions are left to the bride's company. The distribution of meat portions is also done by the bride's company and Khumalo expounds mouthful on the distribution of the meat portions. He says the front legs are given to the groom and his father, while the back legs are

⁷¹⁹ Ibid.

⁷²⁰ C.T. Msimang and D.B.Z. Ntuli: *IsiZulu Samaciko*, pp. 235-236.

given to the groom's and the bride's mothers respectively, the back parts (iqolo) is given to the negotiator (umkhongi). The rest of the meat is left on the skin for the family, friends and the bride's company to cook and feast.⁷²¹

Clarifying further on the distribution of meat portions, Khumalo states that the front legs are given to the males because they are the heads (leaders) of the family and they have to walk in front in directing the social and civil matters of their families. The women are given the back legs as they are following the lead of men as helpers. After the ceremony, the girls from the bride's company take containers to fetch water and others collect firewood for household use after they had left. The girls do not carry these things inside the homestead but leave them at the gate for collection by the family members. The whole ceremony comes to an end as the whole bride's company packs and go.⁷²²

6.12.6. UKUCIMELA TRADITION

After the *lobola* had been paid, the bride, with the help of the family members, prepared for the wedding ceremony.⁷²³ The bride would be helped to knit *amacansi* (sleeping mats), serving mats (*izithebe*), small sitting mats (*izicephu*) and many other objects to be used as gifts for her in-laws (*izimpahla zokwaba*). The brothers of the bride would help by carving *izingqoko* (wooden meat plates), headrests (*izigqifa*), *izinkezo* also to be used as gifts for her in-laws. The knitting of mats, sewing what needed to be sewn was not a problem as most of the young girls learnt these skills from their mothers and grandmothers who had learnt from the previous generations. It was the same with the carving of the meat plates as brothers of the bride learnt these skills from their fathers and grandfathers.⁷²⁴

In Zulu culture, the elders were models and custodians of handicraft, the younger generations learnt by observing and learning as apprentices. They learnt the art of cutting and collecting all sorts of grass species (*ikhwani*, *ilala*, *incema*,) for use around the household or as wedding gifts. To the present day, the *amaZulu* people are still skilful makers of grass products such as *izikhetho* (beer sieves), *izimbenge* (grass baskets), *imishanelo* (brooms) and many more. The

⁷²¹ Z.L.M. Khumalo: *Ucwaningo olunzulu ngodwendwe lomdabu* (A critical analysis of traditional marriage) PhD Thesis, University of Natal, 1997, p. 114.

⁷²² Ibid.

⁷²³ A.N. Zibane: *Zulu Cultural Traditions: A Draw card for Tourism in KwaZulu Natal*, with special reference to the Lebombo Spatial Development Initiative, p. 76.

⁷²⁴ A.N. Zibane: *Zulu Cultural Traditions: A Draw card for Tourism in KwaZulu Natal*, with special reference to the Lebombo Spatial Development Initiative (PhD Thesis, University of Zululand), p. 76.

Zulu people were also makers of clay pots of various sizes and shapes. All the handicrafts were made from grass, clay and wood products. The bride who distributed the best gifts always stand out and stayed the best-loved bride of the family as the whole family. Those present at her wedding always remark and remember her by the gifts she shared among her in-laws. By these gifts, the bride introduced herself and tried to secure her place in the family which held her entire future.

When you prepare for any event, you need help and support from your friends and relatives. Before the marriage, the girl leaves her *umuzi* to her relatives, friends and neighbours. The purpose of this visit to relatives, friends and neighbours is to indicate to them that she is about to marry and that she expects gifts. This process in Zulu culture is called *ukucimela*. This custom made sure that the bride notified her friends and relatives near and far about her wedding date. This was a known custom that if someone came or told you about her wedding date, you were morally bound to give her something as a gift. No matter how big or small that something was, it counted towards the wedding goods that formed part of gifts to one's in-laws. Nowadays people send invitation letters to nearby relatives. And by receiving and invitation letters you are bound to offer her something as a gift.

The *ukucimela* custom is very helpful for it provided the bride with an avenue to approach the friends and relatives for support towards the gifts or goods for the wedding. The gifts she receives indicated that they wish her well. To show her appreciation, she is expected *ukucimela* to all of them. The *ukucimela* reduces the pressure and expenses of family and friends.

Nyembezi and Nxumalo account this about *ukucimela* custom:

Ukucimela yisiko lokuhambela izihlobo laphe intombi isizogana, ihamba ivalelisa bese beyipha izipha eziningi. Lezi zimpahla yayizisebenzisa emzini ezirrye igezise ngazo.⁷²⁵

Ukucimela is a tradition when the girl who was about to get married visited relatives, bidding farewell to them and they would give her presents. These goods were useful around her new homestead or used as presents to her in-laws.

⁷²⁵ C.L.S. Nyembezi and O.E.H.M. Nxumalo: Inqolobane Yesizwe, p. 118.

What is noticeable is that Khumalo agrees with Nyembezi and Nxumalo about the importance of the *ukucimela* tradition.⁷²⁶ Though, Khumalo adds some a few important comments about the whole *ukucimela* tradition. Khumalo says the bride's father ordered the brewing of the beer and the slaughter of a sacrificial goat before she set out on the *ukucimela* campaign. He further says that the custom prescribed that the bride should begin from her elder uncle (umalume), her mother's eldest brother. The eldest uncle was taken as her rightful guardian in case her parents and grandparents have died. The bride would spend the night at her uncle's place and the goat was sacrificed for her the next morning. She was given *isiphandla* (skin armlet) which she put on her right wrist. The armlet was a sign to show that a sacrificial prayer was made on her behalf asking the ancestors to be merciful to her, bless her wedding day and her married life. The other uncles also gave her goods which might also include goats which she took with her to her new homestead.⁷²⁷

The girl who behaved herself properly i.e. the girl who has retained her virginity until marriage received as many goods as possible. She earned this because her respect earned her a good reputation among the people in her community. Thus the proper behaviour and respect were encouraged and rewarded during the *ukucimela* custom. The most important thing about the *ukucimela* custom is that the girl was accompanied by her maids as she was no longer allowed to speak too often and unnecessarily, she had to begin to learn to be shy and silent. She had to learn to control her tongue, otherwise, she will be a talkative wife. It was believed that if she does not control her tongue *uzodlula akhulumele futhi* (she will be talkative).

The whole *ukucimela* custom showed that the Zulu people prized helping one another on all occasions. In good times, bad times, sad times and happy times the Zulu people stood as one, unified community. The girl's maids assisted in sorting out goods received and keeping them for distribution as gifts to the groom's in-laws on the wedding day.

6.12.7. UMKHEHLO CEREMONY

Umkhehlo ceremony marks a transitional stage from being a maiden to being a wife. It is like an engagement party as is done nowadays because a girl is publicly engaged to a man. This

⁷²⁶ Z.L.M. Khumalo: *Ucwaningo olunzulu ngodwendwe lomdabu* (A critical analysis of traditional marriage) PhD Thesis, University of Natal, 1997, p. 142 agrees with C.L.S. Nyembezi and O.E.H.M. Nxumalo: *Inqolobane Yesizwe*, p. 118.

⁷²⁷ Z.L.M. Khumalo: *Ucwaningo olunzulu ngodwendwe lomdabu* (A critical analysis of traditional marriage) PhD Thesis, University of Natal, 1997, p. 142.

ceremony means that the wedding ceremony is not too far. It is a ceremony that informs people that she is now *ingoduso* (fiancée) of someone. The *umkhehlo* ceremony marks a collaboration between the families of a bride and a bridegroom. In this ceremony *umkhongi* (the negotiator) acts as a master of ceremony. In this ceremony, he (*umkhongi*) takes it upon himself that nothing goes wrong as the two families are preparing for such a big cultural event.

Khumalo says this about the *umkhehlo* ceremony:

Yisiko leli elingaphuthi ngaphambi kokuba umntwana asine. Limqoka ngoba liqopha isigaba umntwana wentombazane angena kuso. Lesi isigaba sokungena ebungodusini.⁷²⁸

This is a custom that is never overlooked before the wedding day. It is very important as it marks a transition to a new stage. That is the stage from girlhood to womanhood.

The *umkhehlo* ceremony is one of the very important cultural activities that gives the girl a new status, of being an engaged woman. This ceremony is special because it gives a girl foretaste experience of wearing *isidwaba* (a traditional pleated leather skirts). However, it must be pointed out that preparations for this ceremony always differ from place to place. In other areas, the bride's father requests *umkhongi* to bring a cow on a set date for the *umkhehlo* Ceremony. It must be said that that cow is outside the lobola cattle. In other areas, the bride's father sets the date on which the negotiator (*umkhongi*) will bring along the groom's family and its relatives, with the ceremonial beast provided by the bride's father either from within the *lobola* cattle or his own cattle. In other cases, the beast is provided with pleasure as each family feels it is its duty or responsibility to make this *umkhehlo* ceremony a success.

Before the ceremony begins, Zulu culture prescribed that the goat must be slaughtered before the ceremonial beast. The goat is slaughtered to report to the ancestors about the big stage in the girl's life. The groom's company cannot go to the bride's place empty-handed. As the result, the groom's company comes to the bride's place carrying sorghum beer, food provisions and other beverages to make the ceremony a joyous occasion. Their arrival in the bride's place is welcomed by joyous shouts and hoorays. The *umkhehlo* ceremony takes place *esigcawini* (on an open field venue) pointed by the brides' father immediately before the ceremony begins. It

⁷²⁸ Z.L.M. Khumalo: *Ucwaningo olunzulu ngodwendwe lomdabu* (A critical analysis of traditional marriage) PhD Thesis, University of Natal, 1997, p. 130.

is the same venue where there will be traditional Zulu dances and an exchange of gifts. Because of witchcraft, the *isigcawu* is never made to be known by many people beforehand. Preferably, *isigcawu* is an area below the cattle kraal.⁷²⁹

After the *isigcawu* has been pointed, the bride and her company are the first to enter the stage in singing and dancing. During this ceremony, the bride wears *isidwaba*. She has gall bladder armllets and skin armllets. These armllets were taken from the sacrificial beasts that were slaughtered for her ceremony. The contents of the gall bladder were sprinkled on her body in sacrificial prayer to her family ancestors requesting them to bless her and be their guardians as she enters the new stage in her life.

The upper parts of the bride's body are covered with *umhlwehlwe* (a peritoneum) of the beast slaughtered for her *Umkhehlo* Ceremony.⁷³⁰ The bride's head is covered with *inhloko* (a top-knot headpiece). All these dressing codes entitle her as a wife as she is introduced into the world of womanhood. Both the bride's and the groom's family are responsible for dressing up the bride during the ceremony. This is seen in that today the groom's family bring along special dresses for their new wife. Among these modern dresses, one can mention aprons (*amaphinifa*), head-covering cloths (*amaduku asekhandu*), scarves (*izikhafu*) and many other clothes fit for a married woman. Traditionally, as the bride and her company are singing and dancing, the members of both families and the community would come and present their gifts to the bride. These presents of all sorts are kept and are used as presents to the bride's in-laws during the *umabo* ceremony.⁷³¹

Today one observes the pinning of money on the top-knot headdress (*uchonywa imali enhloko*) during the *umkhehlo* ceremony. The bride and her bridesmaids, normally three or four, sing and dance having spears in their hands. They dance towards the crowds, who are divided into two, those belonging to the bride and those belonging to the groom. If they stick the spear to the ground before you, you are bound to take the spear back to them as they had stuck the spear in front of you and danced back to their singing and dancing company. You bring the spear

⁷²⁹ A.N. Zibane: Zulu Cultural Traditions: A Draw card for Tourism in KwaZulu Natal, with special reference to the Lebombo Spatial Development Initiative (PhD Thesis, University of Zululand), p. 81.

⁷³⁰ M.E. Mnguni: An investigation into the commercial and the Zulu traditional modes of slaughtering, butchering, culinary properties and service with special reference to socio-cultural ritual behaviors in KwaZulu-Natal (M TECH, Durban University of Technology, 2006), p. 170.

⁷³¹ A.N. Zibane: Zulu Cultural Traditions: A Draw card for Tourism in KwaZulu Natal, with special reference to the Lebombo Spatial Development Initiative (PhD Thesis, University of Zululand), p. 81.

back, stick it to the ground in front of the bride and you use the safety pins on the bride's headpiece to pin the banknotes. They used banknotes because coins cannot be pinned.⁷³²

They mostly targeted members of the crowd are from the groom's party. These members come prepared with banknotes, ready to show-off to the bride's company, as they know they also have prospective wives among them. The pinning of banknotes during the *umkhehlo* Ceremony is another way to raise funds to meet the demands of preparing for the wedding ceremony. The pinning of money fits appropriate with modern time as money is used to buy almost everything needed on the wedding day. Before money was invented, people in olden time used what they had as a gift to the bride.⁷³³

On the way to the end of the ceremony at the meeting place, the men's do their war-dance and stick-fighting to entertain the crowds. Such gathering could not continue without the presence of *induna yenkosi*. The purpose of the presence of *induna* or his representative is to make sure that he monitors peace and stability. The *induna* is normally the one who officially calls out to end the gathering after the bride's father had given his vote of thanks and announced that all his visitors are requested to have some refreshments at his place before they disperse to their various destinations.⁷³⁴

6.12.8. UMN CAMO NOMGONQO

In Zulu culture, before one gets on upon a long journey, he or she was given enough time to eat and pack some of the food for the journey. The food for the journey was known as *umncamo* (provision for the journey). Nyembezi and Nxumalo define *umncamo* as follows:

Umncamo ukudla okulungiselwa umuntu ohambayo.⁷³⁵

Provision is food prepared for a person who is going to embark on a long journey.

The Zulu people believed before a person embarks on a long journey that a person should be given enough time to eat and have some food packed as one's provision for the journey. The

⁷³² M.E. Mnguni: An investigation into the commercial and the Zulu traditional modes of slaughtering, butchering, culinary properties and service with special reference to socio-cultural ritual behaviors in KwaZulu-Natal (M TECH, Durban University of Technology, 2006), p. 170; A.N. Zibane: Zulu Cultural Traditions: A Draw card for Tourism in KwaZulu Natal, with special reference to the Lebombo Spatial Development Initiative (PhD Thesis, University of Zululand), p. 81.

⁷³³ Ibid, p. 82.

⁷³⁴ Ibid, p. 82.

⁷³⁵ C.L.S. Nyembezi and O.E.H.M. Nxumalo: Inqolobane Yesizwe, p. 273.

umncamo was a final farewell ceremony where the bride's father slaughtered a cow for her daughter to eat her final meal before her long journey to her new homestead. Therefore, the *ukuncama* custom prescribed that a beast had to be slaughtered for the girl and the whole family to join her on her last meal before her wedding day. This was the solemn ceremony the father prepared for his daughter to leave her homestead, her birthplace to her new environment. This is the day before her wedding day.

The bride's father takes his daughter and her bridesmaids, the whole or a few members of the family into the cattle kraal to show them the beast to be slaughtered. Khumalo and Krige agree that it can either be one of the *lobola* cattle or one of the family's cattle.⁷³⁶ It has been notable that in many cases the family heads prefer to use their family cattle as a sign of being happy for what the girl has done. What is important is that the beast has to be a female without imperfection and very fat. The blemish here being a barren cow (*inyumba*) or the cow having a problem with her teats (*imfamibele*). The beast has to be a healthy and fat heifer (*isithole esihle*) because the father is presenting the best he can offer as he is praying and bidding his daughter farewell.

While in the kraal with his daughter and her bridesmaids, the father is expected to describe the beast by its colours and characteristics as he is pointing at it, this is purposely done to make it clear even to the ancestors which beast is to be slaughtered. As he does this, there is a shout of joy from those present, calling the father with his clan praises (*izithakazelo*). As per custom, the girl is not allowed to speak, it is, therefore, the duty of her uncles, aunts and other family members to take turns thanking the father on her behalf. The girl and her bridesmaids return to their confinement but before or after the beast has been slaughtered.

Krige notes this about the *ukuncama* custom:

When the bride is about to leave her home for marriage, a beast known as *ukuncamisa* or *inkomo yokuchola* is slaughtered and its gall is poured over her face, arms and legs to mark the changes that are to take place about her belonging.⁷³⁷

⁷³⁶ Z.L.M. Khumalo: *Ucwaningo olunzulu ngodwendwe lomdabu* (A critical analysis of traditional marriage) PhD Thesis, University of Natal, 1997, p. 180 and E.J. Krige: *The Social Systems of the Zulus*, p. 135.

⁷³⁷ E.J. Krige: *The Social Systems of the Zulus*, p. 135.

Gumede gives some very important things that are followed when slaughtering a sacrificial beast. He says the beast has to be carefully chosen, there must be sorghum beer to go with the sacrifice, the incense has to be burnt to appease and pray the ancestors, the sacrificial beast has to bellow or bleat to show a sign of being accepted by the ancestral spirits. The slaughtering of the *umncamo* beast has to follow these tenets. Gumede further says that the beast has to be slaughtered soon after dusk, the time when the ancestors are believed to come and roam around the homestead. The meat portions (izitho zenkomo) are cut according to strict Zulu customs.

The meat is hung on the poles of the kraal to allow the draining of blood before taken into the main hut.⁷³⁸ The meat is kept overnight in the main hut to be seen and blessed by the ancestral spirits. The Zulu people never eat blood-drenched meat. The most important part of the meat is the gall bladder. Its content is used by the bride's father to sprinkle her on the feet and forehead as a way of reporting her to the ancestral spirits that she is leaving for another homestead in marriage. The bladder itself is used as an armlet (isiphandla senyongo) on her right hand next to the skin armlet made from the goat which was slaughtered for her at the beginning of her confinement period.⁷³⁹

What is noticeable is that the *umncamo* ceremony forms part of confinement week. This last week at her homestead, the bride is confined and protected in her hut, she is attended to by her bridesmaids. On the first day of her confinement, her father slaughters a goat to make a sacrifice notifying her ancestors (ukubikela abaphansi) that her daughter is leaving for marriage to a so-and-so family. Msimang says the following about the *umncamo* ceremony:

... kubikwa kuqala kwabaphansi ngembuzi. Iyona ecelela umntwana indlela nenkambo enhle nomendo omuhle.⁷⁴⁰

... the ceremony is first reported to the ancestral spirits by sacrificing a goat. It is a sacrificial prayer for wishing the girl good luck, a safe journey and prosperous marriage.

Because whenever you need to talk with the ancestors an incense is burnt. Incense is used at a prayer place when we communicate with the ancestors. It helps to bring the ancestors closer so

⁷³⁸ A.N. Zibane: Zulu Cultural Traditions: A Draw card for Tourism in KwaZulu Natal, with special reference to the Lebombo Spatial Development Initiative (PhD Thesis, University of Zululand), pp. 86-87.

⁷³⁹ M.V. Gumede: Traditional Healers: A medical practioner's Perspective, pp. 10-11.

⁷⁴⁰ C.T. Msimang: Kusadliwa Ngoludala, p. 280.

that we can say our prayers. As a result, the bride's father burns incense as the goat is slaughtered to pray for the girl's safe journey and a fruitful marriage free of setbacks. The girl is given a goat gall bladder armlet to wear, given a big shawl to cover herself as she enters her confinement house where she is attended to by her bridesmaids. It is in this week when the bride is praying together with her whole family for the future which she does not know what it holds for her. The week is spent there in the hut where she prays for the success of her wedding day to be without natural and man-made disturbances.⁷⁴¹

Together with her family and friends, she mourns and prays for her welcome and adjustment in her married life. As the name confinement (ukugonqa) suggests, she is confined to her hut and no longer seen moving up and down around the courtyard. She is no longer mentioned by her first name but referred to as a child (umntwana). Khumalo and Msimang suggest that the shunning of the bride's first name has mystical powers to control people not to become riotous and violent on her wedding day. The confinement week is the time when, traditionally, she sits leaning against the pillar (weyama ngensika) as the customary belief that she will stand firm as a pillar when facing the storms and trials in her married life.⁷⁴²

The confinement period (ukugonqa) is the time when the people, especially the elderly women, come and spend many hours with the bride in her mournful prayers. These elderly women, her blood relatives and friends come and give her advice, admonishments, words of comfort and courage that will remain the true pillars of hope and strength through both good and bad times in her married life. The people take their turns to share their experiences in marriage, their joys and hardships, and ultimately how to keep her marriage intact despite all the evils that might come her way in married life. They tell the bride that as she is sitting and praying for the success of her wedding day, prayer is the only weapon she can successfully use to overcome all evils. The bride has to develop faith that she is serving the God who is so big and wonderful.

Krige says the following about the advice the girl receives before leaving for marriage:

⁷⁴¹ A.N. Zibane: Zulu Cultural Traditions: A Draw card for Tourism in KwaZulu Natal, with special reference to the Lebombo Spatial Development Initiative (PhD Thesis, University of Zululand), p. 78.

⁷⁴² Z.L.M. Khumalo: Ucwangingo olunzulu ngodwendwe lomdabu (A critical analysis of traditional marriage) PhD Thesis, University of Natal, 1997, p. 172 and C.T. Msimang: Kusadliwa Ngoludala, p. 279.

The girl is brought before the elders of the sib and is instructed on how to behave at the other kraal. She is told that she represents her sib and told that whatever she does will be blamed on her people.⁷⁴³

The elders tell the bride that she must brace herself to be strong and hold firm to her marriage even though called by all sorts of bad names, a harlot and a wizard. Khumalo says the following about the last day before the wedding day:

Yisikhathi lapho inzalabantu ishintshana khona ngomntwana. Ingena idedelana emgonqweni ngoba nje izodonsa ngendlebe umntwana. Ziyameluleka ukuba aqine alungele ukubekezela noma sekunjani.⁷⁴⁴

This is the time when the elders gather around the bride. They take turns to advise her. They encourage the bride to remain strong no matter what happens.

As the bride is confined to her hut, she is given the herbs and plants which form part of her cleansing medicines (udla ubulawu). Speaking about the cleansing Gumede says the following:

...this purification or cleansing medicine (amakhubalo amhlophe) are prepared by the traditional healers from barks of large trees. These purification medicines made the person who used them very attractive, loved and respected among others. They were believed to be connected with the ancestral spirits. As the girl is given these medicines, she is also given enough time to eat properly. By the time she leaves the confinement but, she must look radiant, plump, fresh, rosy, attractive and a beautiful princess worthy of getting married. Everyone who sees her must-see beauty unparalleled.⁷⁴⁵

As has been indicated that the *umncamo* is purposefully made to provide the bride with food as she is going to embark on a long journey. As a result, some of the meat portions of the *umncamo* are kept as *isithebe somntwana* (a provision for the bride). The girl and her bridesmaids are not allowed by custom to eat the meat of her bridal homestead until officially

⁷⁴³ E.J. Krige: The Social Systems of the Zulus, p. 136.

⁷⁴⁴ Z.L.M. Khumalo: Ucwangingo olunzulu ngodwendwe lomdabu (A critical analysis of traditional marriage) PhD Thesis, University of Natal, 1997, p. 174.

⁷⁴⁵ M.V. Gumede: Traditional Healers: A medical practitioner's Perspective, p. 32.

permitted to do so by slaughtering a goat. The day before the wedding day is a day of final preparations before the bride leaves her homestead.⁷⁴⁶

In the afternoon, when the meat and other refreshments for the celebration are ready, the bride's father takes her into the cattle kraal. There he reports the proceedings to the ancestors. He thanks the child and commend her to the care of her ancestors, to bless her to be fruitful and multiply making a name for herself and her family. Once the prayers in the kraal are finished, the crowd walks out the kraal into the courtyard. The bride and her bridesmaids are given a chance to do a demonstrative dance to show how they will perform on her wedding day. The demonstrative dance is done for those who will not go to the wedding day to see how they are going to perform. Her mother is one of those who will not see her on her wedding day because traditionally the girl's mother does not accompany her daughter on her wedding day (umama akayishadisi indodakazi).⁷⁴⁷

Narrating about the demonstrative dance the bride and bridesmaids perform, Bryant said the following:

The afternoon was spent in feasting, followed by a short farewell dance within the cattle-fold, which you must know was the family's sacred spot.⁷⁴⁸

One cannot have any objections about what Bryant has said as there are differences in cultural practices from place to place. But in Zulu culture, the kraal is a sacred place, therefore, the common practice is that many people prefer the courtyard outside the kraal for this farewell dance. During this ceremony, there are people appointed to be responsible for the various parts of the occasion. Some welcome and direct the visitors and those who bring presents and food. There are those responsible for seeing that meat and beer are served accordingly to the attendees. The responsibility of these people is to make sure that order is maintained and that everybody feels welcomed and honoured.⁷⁴⁹

After this function, the bride and her bridesmaids return to their selected hut to rest for a while before a showdown the next day. It is a rest for a few hours as the bride and her company

⁷⁴⁶ A.N. Zibane: Zulu Cultural Traditions: A Draw card for Tourism in KwaZulu Natal, with special reference to the Lebombo Spatial Development Initiative (PhD Thesis, University of Zululand), p. 88.

⁷⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁴⁸ A.T. Bryant: The Zulu people as they were before white man came, p. 544.

⁷⁴⁹ A.N. Zibane: Zulu Cultural Traditions: A Draw card for Tourism in KwaZulu Natal, with special reference to the Lebombo Spatial Development Initiative (PhD Thesis, University of Zululand), p. 89.

(umthimba) have to leave at midnight to be at the groom's place at dawn. Before embarking on the journey, the bride's father takes the bride with her bridesmaids for a final round in the kraal. In the kraal, the father of the bride reports their departure to the ancestors. When they leave the kraal, the bride is told never to look back but straight ahead until she reaches the groom's homestead. According to Zulu customs, it is believed that if she looks back, she will always remember back home and return and this is regarded as a sign of not being happily married.⁷⁵⁰

They Zulu custom prescribed that before she leaves, her mother bids her farewell and brushes the bride's mouth shut. This is a sign that silence is golden, nobody will accuse her of ill speaking if she keeps her mouth shut. As the bride and her company leave home, she is protected among them, as they sing the clan's song (ihubo lozalo). The negotiator (umkhongi) had come to collect or meet the bridal company to take it home.⁷⁵¹

6.12.9. UKUNGENA KOMTHIMBA (THE WEDDING CEREMONY)

The way the *umthimba* (bridal company) is accepted at the groom's homestead differs from place to place. They arrive singing their clan song (ihubo lomndeni) as a way of saluting the groom's homestead at the gate. At this stage, the bride will not yet have entered her new home. The bride will now sing her own ihubo, and her companions will join. The groom's father then gives them the goat to be slaughtered. The call for the goat differs from place to place. Some call it *imbuzi yasesihlahleni* and some call it *isiwukulu* goat.⁷⁵² Msimang supports this by saying:

... kulethwa imbuzi ilethwa umkhongi. Le mbuzi kuthiwa isiwukulu noma uthuli lwezinsizwa.⁷⁵³

... the goat is brought by the negotiator. This goat is called *isiwukulu*, or the dusting off of the young men's feet.

The goat is meant to be their breakfast as the groom's father later sends a beast for slaughtering and provide enough food for his in-laws. All is done amidst the shouts of joy (kuyakikizwa) by

⁷⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁷⁵¹ A.N. Zibane: Zulu Cultural Traditions: A Draw card for Tourism in KwaZulu Natal, with special reference to the Lebombo Spatial Development Initiative (PhD Thesis, University of Zululand), p. 89.

⁷⁵² M. Fuze: The Black People and whence they came, p. 35.

⁷⁵³ C.T. Msimang: Kusadliwa Ngoludala, p. 282.

the women of the groom's homestead. These women dance around the homestead carrying small sticks, freshly picked palm branches or any beautiful trees. Other women show their joy by carrying sitting mats (*izicephu*), serving mats (*izithebe*), brooms (*imishanelo*) in their hands, showing how happy they are to receive a new member into their family.⁷⁵⁴

When the bridal party arrives at midnight, they come singing their clan song and following all of the traditional customs involved. The arrival of the bridal company marks the beginning of the celebrations, as Krige puts it:

On the arrival of the bride at the bridegroom's kraal, the marriage celebrations can be said to begin.⁷⁵⁵

The negotiator and the bridegroom's company welcomes the bridal party in singing and dance, exchange of greetings. The custom indicates that when the bridal company enters they must walk towards the right-hand side of the cattle kraal. Krige says about the arrival of the bride at the groom's place:

... still singing their *ihubo*, the bridal party proceed with the bride invisible in the centre, up the right side of the village and halt and cease at *indlunkulu* hut at the top.⁷⁵⁶

Khumalo says the entering on the right side of the kraal is the way the bridal party prays to the ancestors⁷⁵⁷, who are believed to be in the main hut. They are praying for the ancestors to welcome the bride as the new member of the homestead. The women of the groom's homestead show their welcome by hoorays and shouts of joy and Khumalo remarks this way about this custom:

Isiko lokulilizela lidala kakhulu kodwa okusenamuhla lisenamandla. Yisiko lendabuko elibika injabulo nokutusa.⁷⁵⁸

⁷⁵⁴ A.N. Zibane: Zulu Cultural Traditions: A Draw card for Tourism in KwaZulu Natal, with special reference to the Lebombo Spatial Development Initiative (PhD Thesis, University of Zululand), p. 90.

⁷⁵⁵ E.J. Krige: The Social Systems of the Zulus, p. 138.

⁷⁵⁶ Ibid, p. 139.

⁷⁵⁷ Z.L.M. Khumalo: Ucwangingo olunzulu ngodwendwe lomdabu (A critical analysis of traditional marriage) PhD Thesis, University of Natal, 1997, pp. 250-251.

⁷⁵⁸ Ibid, p. 252.

The custom of giving hoorays and shouts of joy is very old, but still very powerful and prominent today. It is a custom of showing one's happiness and appreciation.

When *umthimba* arrive they are given a hut within the groom's place. As the bridal party tries to enter its given huts, the groom's party (*ikhetho*) blocks the way. This is a known custom where the bridal party has to pay a requested sum of money to buy the breaking of the blockade⁷⁵⁹ because in modern days there is money. In the olden times, the traditional wedding men were provided with the opportunity to demonstrate their preparedness in defending themselves by outdoing each other because there was no money to bail their way out. The bride's male relatives approach the *umuzi* of the groom and some of the groom's friends will then try to prevent this. Old and young will attempt to block them with long sticks. However, the bride's men will force their way in. They begin a special dance called *ukugqumushela* (special Zulu wedding dance).⁷⁶⁰ Msimang refers to this custom when he says:

Uthi ufika emnyango umthimba zibe sezivimbile izintombi zekhetho kanye nomkhongi zifuna imfibinga.⁷⁶¹

As the bridal company reaches the door, the girls from the groom's party, and the negotiator, had already blocked the way requesting for the payment to break the blockade.

Once the bridal party has paid the requested sum of money, it can also refuse to enter the hut requesting payment for carrying some of the bridal goods on behalf of the negotiator. All these delays and exchange of gifts enlighten the traditional wedding ceremony and makes it a happy memorable event. The delays are purposely done to sneak in the bride unnoticed into the given houses, Khumalo and Msimang.⁷⁶² Once the bridal party is in the given huts, it is given food and beer to drink. The groom's party soon withdraws to the left side of the courtyard to begin its singing and competitive dance (*ukugqumushela*).

⁷⁵⁹ A.N. Zibane: Zulu Cultural Traditions: A Draw card for Tourism in KwaZulu Natal, with special reference to the Lebombo Spatial Development Initiative (PhD Thesis, University of Zululand), p. 91.

⁷⁶⁰ R.C. Samuelson: Long Long Ago, p. 320.

⁷⁶¹ C.T. Msimang: Kusadliwa Ngoludala, p. 281.

⁷⁶² Z.L.M. Khumalo: Ucwangingo olunzulu ngodwendwe lomdabu (A critical analysis of traditional marriage) PhD Thesis, University of Natal, 1997, p. 255; C.T. Msimang: Kusadliwa Ngoludala, p. 281.

Khumalo says this about the competitive dance:

Ukugqumushela kusuke kusiwa ngendlela ethile esakuqholosha, esakuqhubukusha nokho okuhle. Kuyahlonishwa njengoba kusiwa phakathi kobusuku.⁷⁶³

The competitive dance is when the people sing and dance in a show-off manner with acceptable extravagant exaggeration. It is performed respectfully as it is done in the middle of the night.

Khumalo says that this type of dance is performed as a way of reporting the arrival of the bride, dancing for them to watch as they are all present at this time of the night. It is very important to mention that as the groom's party is doing its competitive dance on the left side of the courtyard, the bridal party also gets out of their given huts and join the festive mood by sing and performing its own competitive dance on the right side of the courtyard. It is also very important to mention that as the parties are performing outside, the bride never leaves the given hut. The most remarkable aspect of the singing is that each part sings the songs that have a message to be heeded by the other party. The messages embody the expectations of each side, what the bridal company expects from their groom and what the groom's company expects from their bride.⁷⁶⁴

The songs that are sung contain the messages revolving around pieces of advice, expectations, acceptance and general behaviour, all of which has a bearing on the dignity and success of the wedding anointed as of today. The competitive singing and dancing come to an end when the groom starts singing his clan song (inkondlo kamkhwenyana). The groom's clan song concludes the competitive dance and the whole welcoming session of the bridal company into the groom's homestead. By singing his clan song, the groom is reporting to his ancestors that he has carefully listened and accepted all the messages conveyed in both the bridal and groom's singing and performances throughout the night.⁷⁶⁵

⁷⁶³ Ibid, p. 260.

⁷⁶⁴ Z.L.M. Khumalo: *Ucwaningo olunzulu ngodwendwe lomdabu* (A critical analysis of traditional marriage) PhD Thesis, University of Natal, 1997, p. 260.

⁷⁶⁵ A.N. Zibane: *Zulu Cultural Traditions: A Draw card for Tourism in KwaZulu Natal, with special reference to the Lebombo Spatial Development Initiative* (PhD Thesis, University of Zululand), p. 93.

He now acknowledges before the witnesses that he will do all in his power to maintain his newly formed family and uphold his new status of being a married man. The women break into shouts of joy, the men, young and old, leap into war-dances (*izinsizwa zigiye*). They all retire to their respective huts where they drink and dance the night through, with short naps in-between. At dawn, the bride is the first, together with her bridesmaids, to be up and go out unnoticed to find their way to their designated tree not far from the river. The rest of the bridal company follows to this isolated place under the tree.⁷⁶⁶

The river is the place where the bride and her company will bath themselves to get ready for the wedding ceremony. About noon, the father of the bride dresses up his daughter to get ready for singing and dancing as they will soon be going up to *esigcawini*. Her father, assisted by his heir because everything that pertains to the ancestral spirits has to be done by the family head, not the women, who dresses her. Msimang remarks about the way the bride wears on the day:

Umakoti ubopha amaxhama amabili phezu kwesidwaba. Amanye alenga ngapha nangapha ezinhlangothini. Emamhlombe wembeswe izikhumba zensimba ...⁷⁶⁷

The bride is adorned with beaded girdles overlapping above her leather skirt. Over her shoulders hangs the skins of genets.

On her head, the bride wears an *inhloko* decorated with *umnqwazi* (a beaded strap). The veil (*imvakazi*) is suspended from her head, covering her face but she can see through the dangling pieces of the veil. Krige describes the veil as follows:

... the most noticeable distinguishing mark is her veil (*imvakazi*) of cloth decorated with beads or consisting of a fringe of beads which conceal her face while allowing her to see.⁷⁶⁸

The veil covers the bride's face as a way of showing respect to her new family. The bride is expected to show and give respect to both the ancestors and the living. The veil also prevents the bride from being seen by the crowds. Khumalo says the veil has those fascinating and magical powers of controlling the crowds to remain calm. He further says that if the bride can

⁷⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁶⁷ C.T. Msimang: Kusadliwa Ngoludala, p. 282.

⁷⁶⁸ E.J. Krige: The Social Systems of the Zulus, p. 141.

remove the veil, it is believed the crowds would turn riotous and ruin the whole wedding ceremony.⁷⁶⁹

Traditionally, the veil was strictly worn by the bride to signify that she was still a virgin. It was a sign of purity and chastity. The other mark of the bride was that she was seen with her armlets of gall bladders and skins (*iziphandla zesikhumba nezenyongo*) on her right wrist. These armlets were signs that she went through the necessary preliminary rites before marriage were satisfied. If one of these preliminaries was not satisfied it was believed that her marriage will not be a success.

The way the bride wears on her regalia differs from place to place among the Zulu people, but these traditional regalia mentioned above have been observed and found to be common among the different regional groups. One may find it common that the bride carries *ingcwayi* (a white shield without decorations) on her left hand, and carries *isinqindi* (a short knife or assegai) on her right hand.⁷⁷⁰ These traditional items are symbols of victory, they are therefore given by a father to her daughter showing that he wishes her victory against all odds in her marriage. This victory will be accomplished if the bride uses tactics such as love, patience, respect, humility, kindness, faithfulness and self-control. These are the fighting tactics she learnt as she grew up, and when the elderly people gathered about her, advising her to be of courage despite whatever happens.⁷⁷¹

6.12.10. AT THE WEDDING SITE ON THE WEDDING DAY

At noon, the groom's party (*ikhetho*) gets down to fetch the bridal party (*umthimba*) from their isolated place under the tree. The men from both companies (*ikhetho* and *umthimba*) are characterized by their colourful *amabheshu namahawu anhlobonhlobo* (buttock skin-coverings and shields). These men are wearing colourful decorative feathers on their hands, colourful skin straps on their knees and upper arms. They are carrying knobkerries (*amawisa nezagila*) not for fighting but for the beauty of the wedding ceremony. The bridal company may rise from its designated tree in their different groups or just one group. What is important is that they first have to sing songs and dance towards the groom's place before going to the wedding site.

⁷⁶⁹ Z.L.M. Khumalo: *Ucwaningo olunzulu ngodwendwe lomdabu* (A critical analysis of traditional marriage) PhD Thesis, University of Natal, 1997, p. 288.

⁷⁷⁰ C.T. Msimang: *Kusadliwa ngoludala*, p. 129; Z.L.M. Khumalo: *Ucwaningo olunzulu ngodwendwe lomdabu* (A critical analysis of traditional marriage) PhD Thesis, University of Natal, 1997, p. 205.

⁷⁷¹ E.J. Krige: *The Social Systems of the Zulus*, p. 141; C.T. Msimang: *Kusadliwa ngoludala*, p. 129.

This going to the groom's place first is a way of saluting the groom's place on behalf of the bride (ziyokhulekela umakoti).⁷⁷²

They are believed to trample down the bad omens and evil trails (bagxoba imikhokha) that might have been cast by the enemies of the families. The mothers in the bridal company have the duty of requesting the family ancestors to accept, welcome and protect the bride. Khumalo confirms:

Kunesidingo ngokwesiko ukuba onina bayomkhulekela umntwana emzini,
ezinyanyeni zekhaya.⁷⁷³

It is necessary, as a custom, for the mothers of the bride to go and make prayers to the family ancestors on her behalf.

The role played by the bride's mothers at her wedding is very important. Every step they make is observed, to know if they know the customs and whether they had done their job of instilling these customary rules in their child. Their manner of approach, their respect, their attitudes and their knowledge of customs will depict the values and behaviour to be expected from their child who is going to be the bride.

Msimang says that as the women from the bride's company make their rounds in the groom's homestead, they have burning firebrands. The firebrands symbolize many things and we can mention one or two of those symbols. The burning firebrands symbolize the wishes the women make to the ancestral spirits. The women request the ancestral spirits to lighten up the paths the married couple still to travel in their married life. The firebrands are the response to the negotiator's request. He came requesting for the "lighting of the firebrand" (ukuzokokha umlilo), therefore the bride is the "firebrand" to warm up the homestead.⁷⁷⁴

As mothers of the bride carry new brooms, they symbolize the usefulness of the bride around the home. The broom is also used among the Zulu people for sprinkling herbal medicines (izintelezi) for chasing away the evil spirits and bad omens. The mothers of the bride therefore wave the brooms to chase away the evil spirits and spells that might disturb the wedding

⁷⁷² A.N. Zibane: Zulu Cultural Traditions: A Draw card for Tourism in KwaZulu Natal, with special reference to the Lebombo Spatial Development Initiative (PhD Thesis, University of Zululand), p. 98.

⁷⁷³ Z.L.M. Khumalo: Ucwangingo olunzulu ngodwendwe lomdabu (A critical analysis of traditional marriage) PhD Thesis, University of Natal, 1997, p. 312.

⁷⁷⁴ C.T. Msimang: Kusadliwa ngoludala, p. 283.

ceremony. The bridal company come up to the wedding site after having made sure that the place left behind is tidied up. All the bones and waste have been burnt down to make sure nothing evil is done to spoil the wedding day. Krige and Bryant agree on this point of burning up the rubbish on the spot where the bridal company had been staying.⁷⁷⁵

The bridal company goes up to the wedding site in an orderly manner, with the bride's fathers on the front row, the young men on the second row, the young women and the mothers forming the third and fourth rows respectively. These rows are there to make sure that the bride is shielded within the bridal company. Msimang says about the way the brides company goes to the wedding site:

uyise womntwana eseme phambili nomnewabo ozomphathisa umsebenzi,
zifike izinsizwa zingene ngemuva zisithe umntwana ngamahawu. Kuthi
emuva kwazo kube udwendwe lonke nezimpahla zikomakoti.⁷⁷⁶

... with the bride's father standing on the front row, with the heir to assist his father, the young men join behind the first row shielding the bride with their shields. Behind the young men comes the rest of the bridal company carrying her goods.

Bryant also agrees with Msimang by saying the whole group moved off in one compact group, men in front, and the young men behind with the bride hidden away out of sight. The group marched slowly and sedately to the dancing ground, chanting with uplifted shields the national anthem of their clan (ihubo lomndeni).⁷⁷⁷ The dancing-site is often the open space below the homestead, or else anywhere around the groom's homestead as long as it is a suitable place to contain a large number of people. The dancing-ground is appointed shortly before the start of the ceremony as supported by Khumalo where he says:

Ngesikhathi udwendwe lunyakaza selwenyuka, usokhaya nobafowabo
baphuma bayokhomba isigcawu ... njengoba umthimba wenyuka nje
usungaqonda ngqo esigcawini.⁷⁷⁸

⁷⁷⁵ E.J. Krige: *The Social Systems of the Zulus*, p. 141; A.T. Bryant: *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal*, p. 548.

⁷⁷⁶ C.T. Msimang: *Kusadliwa Ngoludala*, p. 283.

⁷⁷⁷ A.T. Bryant: *The Zulu people as they were before white man came*, p. 548.

⁷⁷⁸ Z.L.M. Khumalo: *Ucwaningo olunzulu ngodwendwe lomdabu (A critical analysis of traditional marriage)* PhD Thesis, University of Natal, 1997, p. 329.

As the bridal company prepares to rise, the family head and his brothers go out to point the wedding site ... with the purpose that the rising bridal company should go straight to the wedding site.

By the time the bridal party reaches the wedding site, the groom's party (*ikhetho*) and the local king's officials, *induna*, messengers and councillors are already in there. The groom's party together with friends, relatives and the community leap up into dance and shouts of joy as they go to meet and welcome the bridal party (*bahlangabeza umthimba*). The bridal party enters and begin to dance before the big crowd of spectators, as Bryant confirms:

Having reached the ground where the great crowd of spectators had already assembled and seated, the bridal company's men drew up in a line in front of the girls.⁷⁷⁹

The shouts of hoorays are spontaneous among the crowds as the bridal party dances in the wedding site. They sing and perform various styles of Zulu traditional dances. Dancing and singing now becomes the main feature of the proceedings, with the groom's family performing their family anthems and wedding marches in response to the bridal party's provocation.⁷⁸⁰ The most prominent of all the dances they perform are the *umgqigqo* and *isigekle* dances.

The *umgqigqo* dance is where the girls make a single file, one behind the other and dancing in forward and backward movements alternatively. What is remarkable is that backward movement is shorter than forward movement. This is purposely done by the girls to symbolize the message directed to the bride. She is being told that her only movement is a forward march, never to make backward movements. She is getting married to stay and never to make backward movements that would lead to divorce, something unheard of and never experienced among the traditional Zulu people. It was a shame to full in marriage.⁷⁸¹

Isigekle dance is the dance pattern where the girls, either from the bride's or groom's party, sing loudly but steadily and softly stamping the ground in slow movements. The important thing in the *isigekle* dance is the message contained in the songs.⁷⁸² They sarcastically convey

⁷⁷⁹ A.T. Bryant: *The Zulu people as they were before white man came*, p. 548.

⁷⁸⁰ P de La Hoope *et al*: *Zulu*, p. 137.

⁷⁸¹ A.N. Zibane: *Zulu Cultural Traditions: A Draw card for Tourism in KwaZulu Natal, with special reference to the Lebombo Spatial Development Initiative* (PhD Thesis, University of Zululand), p. 101.

⁷⁸² *Ibid*, p. 90.

messages referring to the behaviour of their respective in-laws, both the good behaviour expected and the bad behaviour which should be discouraged and discarded. It might be that the bridal party is quite aware that the mother-in-law and the sisters-in-law are short-tempered, prone to evil ways and gossips. They might know that the groom is a ladies man, and thus they would sing songs discouraging such behaviours.⁷⁸³

Khumalo says the following comments about the *isigekle* dance:

Isigekle ukusina okuhambisana neculo elisakubhinqa. Umthimba ubhinqa abasemzini, kokunye ikhetho libhinqe umntwana ongumlobakazi. Kusuke kutshelwana amaqiniso kwezikabhoqo ... kwenziwa sakudlala ngenhloso yokuthi okuqondiswe kuye angakwenzi abhinqwa ngakho.⁷⁸⁴

The *isigekle* dance is a dance accompanied by a sarcastic song. The bridal party criticizes its in-laws and the groom's party criticizes the behaviour of the bride. The painful truth is spoken in a joking manner ... all is done in the name of discouraging the behaviour of the person referred to.

The *isigekle* dance is normally performed towards the middle or the end of the wedding ceremony, the time when a large number of the spectators have come and are enjoying themselves. The time should be for everyone to listen to the message carried in the *isigekle* songs.

6.12.11. THE OPENING PRAYER IN THE TRADITIONAL WEDDING CEREMONY

The *umgqigqo* and *isigekle* dances, and related items mentioned above were just like the song service before the delivery of the message of the day. After the *isigekle* dance and other related items, then comes the time when the bride sings her clan song (*inkondlo kamakoti*) which marks the beginning of the important issues in the traditional wedding. It is the time when the bride sings in her loudest and loveliest voice, and dances as jubilant and lively. It is the time when she crosses the bridge from her girlhood to womanhood. It is the time when she sings and dances to bid farewell to her peers and makes her mark and name among the married women in her new community. Msimang says about the way the bride performs her clan song on her wedding day:

⁷⁸³ Ibid, pp. 101-102.

⁷⁸⁴ Z.L.M. Khumalo: *Ucwaningo olunzulu ngodwendwe lomdabu* (A critical analysis of traditional marriage) PhD Thesis, University of Natal, 1997, p. 336.

Uyozwakala esempompoloza ngenkondlo yakhe (umakoti) esephumela obala, lapho eseyodlala khona sengathi uyazibulala.⁷⁸⁵

The bride will be heard in her loud and clear voice leading the rest in her clan song, it will be as if she dances for the last time before she dies.

The bride begins her clan song, springs forward and dances in a most stunning performance. She dances so beautifully to mark the day as the most memorable day for the rest of her life, the day she became the wife and mother of the nation.⁷⁸⁶ What is most important is the message contained in the clan song, which might be a composition of the girl herself or the song used by all the girls in her family on their wedding days. The message of the clan song (inkondlo kamakoti) is a prayer for an acceptable welcome and treatment in her new homestead. The bride prays for welcome and fitting into the living and departed members of her new homestead.

The bride's song and the message they contain always shows that the bride has dedicated herself to take up her new stage of being a wife. She has left her father's homestead with all its happiness and warmth to become part of another family, she does not know how she will be treated. Her only prayer is that the Lord might guide her every step of the way. She prays to the Lord whom she knows as her only Redeemer, who knows her future. She does not know what the future holds for her, but she knows who holds the future. She prays to be accepted as one of the children in the family, to be given advice and guidance, and to be told and forgiven her wrongs as any of the members of the family. As the bride sings her clan song, everybody is touched by the way the bride performs her clan song.

Khumalo explains the emotions of the audiences when the bride performs her clan song:

... kuqubuka uhlevane kuhlengenzele izinyembezi kunoma ubani uma isihlaba iphelekezela ngengila intokazi yomuntu.⁷⁸⁷

... everybody gets overwhelmed with emotions, and everybody breaks into tears of joy as the bride performs accompanying her clan song with dance.

⁷⁸⁵ C.T. Msimang: *Kusadliwa Ngoludala*, p. 284.

⁷⁸⁶ E.J. Krige: *The Social Systems of the Zulus*, p. 143; A.T. Bryant: *The Zulu people as they were before white man Came*, p. 548.

⁷⁸⁷ Z.L.M. Khumalo: *Ucwaningo olunzulu ngodwendwe lomdabu (A critical analysis of traditional marriage)* PhD Thesis, University of Natal, 1997, p. 342.

After she finishes her clan song, she returns to her company. It is now the time for the elderly men of the bridal company to come forward and make the second part of the prayer session. They come to make an intercessory prayer to the ancestors of their family on behalf of their daughter, the bride. There at the wedding site, the fathers of the bride order the spectators and everybody present to keep quiet as they are about to offer their prayers to their family ancestors. Everybody readily obeys the order to keep quiet, as this opening prayer is a known and respected custom for the fathers of the bride to introduce their ancestors to the ancestors of the groom's homestead. They are all believed to be there, as Msimang says:

... kuba nesizotha esikhulu kuthule wonke uwonke kuthi cwaka. Sekusuka amakhehla amabili angasemthimbeni asezokhuleka.⁷⁸⁸

... there is a solemn calm as everybody keeps quiet. The two elderly men from the bride's party rise ... they begin to pray (to their ancestors).

The elderly men are believed suitable because they are experienced in these matters and they are also regarded as living ancestors because of their age. They are also the ones who know the majority of the departed ones before they went to the world of ancestors. Therefore they would speak as one speaks face to face with his brothers or fathers. In answering the question why two elder men instead of one to pray on behalf of the bride? Khumalo comes with an interesting explanation:

Izinto ngokwesiko ziyaphathiswa ngoba zidinga ubufakazi. Ngakho-ke ikhehla lesibili ngisho lingezukukhuluma lutho, ubukhona balo obokufakazisa ukuthi okushiwo ngumnewabo kunjengoba kunjalo.⁷⁸⁹

Things are traditionally shared because they need proof. So the second old man is not going to say anything, his presence proves that what his brother said is true.

As the elderly men are making their traditional opening prayers by speaking to their ancestors (ukuthetha amadlozi), the rest of the spectators are seated, with the bridal and the groom's parties bowed to the ground facing each other in rows. They are showing respect to the prayers. The two elderly men speak, salute and sing praises to their ancestors. They are pacing up and

⁷⁸⁸ C.T. Msimang: Kusadliwa Ngoludala, p. 349.

⁷⁸⁹ Z.L.M. Khumalo: Ucwangingo olunzulu ngodwendwe lomdabu (A critical analysis of traditional marriage) PhD Thesis, University of Natal, 1997, p. 350.

down between the two lines formed by the couple's parties. Msimang and Khumalo note that everybody is quiet as they know and respect the time when the ancestors of the two families are brought together (*ukuhlanganiswa amadlozi*) to witness, bind and bless the wedding vows.⁷⁹⁰

The Zulu people, by these prayers, show that they know and understand that the traditional wedding ceremony is not only for binding the bride and the groom, but also the binding of the living and departed members of the two families. This is the backbone of the traditional wedding which is not bound by the marriage certificate as is the case in modern days. It was believed that if all these steps were followed there would be no divorce. These can be substantiated because there were rare cases of divorce among traditional marriages. It was a shame and taboo to fail in marriage after so many sacrificial slaughterings and intercessory prayers made for the marriage to last for a lifetime.

Once the elderly men have finished their duty of speaking to the ancestors on behalf of the bride, they return to their place among the bridal company. This is supported by Msimang when he says:

Emuva kokucela asezobuyela emthimbeni amakhehla, sekwedlulwe belu ezingeni elinesithunzi. Umntwana usecelelwe umendo ngenkolo nangegunya lokuthi amathongo ezwile futhi akwemukela ukukhuleka.⁷⁹¹

After having made their requests the elderly men return to the bride's company, they have performed the solemn and respected stage of the wedding. The prosperous marriage has been prayed for on behalf of the bride, with the hope and faith that their prayers have been accepted and answered by the ancestral spirits.

After praying for the bride, the elderly men leap-dance (*bayagiya*) before vacating the stage for the next event. The next event will be that of the king's messenger (*iphoyisa lenkosi*) who will officiate as a marriage officer. The crowds sing and dance, leap-dance as an interlude between the elderly men and the marriage officer.

⁷⁹⁰ C.T. Msimang: *Kusadliwa Ngoludala*, p. 282; Z.L.M. Khumalo: *Ucwaningo olunzulu ngodwendwe lomdabu (A critical analysis of traditional marriage)* PhD Thesis, University of Natal, 1997, p. 352.

⁷⁹¹ C.T. Msimang: *Kusadliwa Ngoludala*, p. 286.

6.12.12. THE ROLE OF *IPHoyISA LENKOSI* (TRADITIONAL MARRIAGE OFFICER)

The king's messenger (*iphoyisa lenkosi*) acted as a traditional marriage officer, by the powers vested on him by the king himself. Msimang says this about the traditional marriage officer:

... sekuzongenwa kwelinye iqophelo lapho sekuzo suka khona isithunywa somthetho senze okwaso kokuhlanganisa labo ababili.⁷⁹²

... the time is now for the next stage where the king's messenger will officiate in binding the two in marriage.

The king's messenger will order the crowds to be quiet once again. He might be assisted by the *induna* and councillors present by raising their shields. Raising the shield is a respectful manner of quietening the noise. Once again the bride and the groom's parties draw closer to the marriage officer. They might be seated or bowed to the ground to show respect and dignity due to the wedding ceremony. The marriage officer would request the heads of both families, together with the negotiator to step forward. This is the time when there would be disclosures of the *lobola* agreements. The marriage officer would ask whether the *lobola* cattle and *izibizo* had been paid in full or there are some remainders. If there are some remainders, they must disclose what agreements were put into place as to how they would be paid?

Khumalo hints at this stage when he says:

... isithunywa somthetho sibhekisa kuyise womntwana sifuna azisholo mlomo esigcawini. Sibuzwa ukuthi, "Nilobolelene kanjani ngomntanakho?" Kufanele achaze kahle ngoba kugcinwa ubufakazi manje.⁷⁹³

... the marriage officer asks the bride's father to state with his mouth before the crowds. He asks the question, "How did your in-laws pay the *lobola* for your daughter?" The bride's father has to state clearly all the terms agreed upon as it is now the time to keep the records straight.

⁷⁹² C.T. Msimang: *Kusadliwa Ngoludala*, p. 286.

⁷⁹³ Z.L.M. Khumalo: *Ucwaningo olunzulu ngodwendwe lomdabu* (A critical analysis of traditional marriage) PhD Thesis, University of Natal, 1997, p. 377.

If the records of the *lobola* proceedings have been stated as a witness before the crowds, the marriage officer is ready to proceed. Msimang states the marriage officer's procedure as follows:

Sizobuza isithunywa bangathula abantu sithi, "Uyabuza umthetho uthi wena ntombazane ungaze ume esigcawini nje uyamthanda na?"⁷⁹⁴

Once the crowds are quiet, the marriage officer would ask, "The law wants to know from you, as you stand before this crowd gathered in this place, do you love the groom?"

The marriage officer is asking on behalf of the king and these people who are gathered stands as witnesses if the young girl (bride) was never coerced to engage herself in marriage. He (iphoyisa lenkosi) wants to know if she voluntarily and lovingly comes as the wife of the groom who is also at the wedding site. Traditionally, the bride would not speak in response but she would dance (*agqize*) towards the marriage officer and pat him softly with a beautifully embroidered sitting mat (*isicephu esibhonqiwe*) and return to the group. The marriage officer would patiently repeat the same question, with the bride repeating the same dramatic act. The marriage officer would be very patient and repeat the same question for the third time.⁷⁹⁵

This third time the bride responds by another traditional dramatic act of pointing the bridegroom with a short assegai or knife on her right hand (*umakoti akhomba umkhwenyana ngesinqindi*). She shows that she loves the bridegroom and that she came out of her own will without being enforced by anyone. Msimang says about this dramatic act of pointing to the bridegroom with a bridal knife:

Uma umntwana ekhomba usokela ngesinqindi esigcawini usuke ekhombisa isifungo azithathela sono sokumemukela abe yindoda yakhe.⁷⁹⁶

If the bride points at the bridegroom with her short assegai or knife at the wedding site, she vows to accept him as her lawful husband.

⁷⁹⁴ C.T. Msimang: *Kusadliwa Ngoludala*, p. 286.

⁷⁹⁵ A.N. Zibane: *Zulu Cultural Traditions: A Draw card for Tourism in KwaZulu Natal*, with special reference to the Lebombo Spatial Development Initiative (PhD Thesis, University of Zululand), p. 109.

⁷⁹⁶ C.T. Msimang: *Kusadliwa Ngoludala*, p. 287.

There would be a loud round of applause if the bride finally agrees by herself before the crowds that she takes the bridegroom as her lawful wedded husband. The bridegroom jumps and dances towards his bride, his friends also dance together with him and sing his praises congratulating him for crossing the bridge to manhood. This is a very important part of the traditional wedding ceremony as the couple makes a public declaration that they are officially man and wife.

After this, the marriage officer turns to the bridegroom to ask him the same question he asked the bride. He asks if the groom loves the bride. The groom responds either by the word of mouth or by raising or lifting his white shield. Khumalo looks at the bride's joy as her bridegroom publicly accepts her:

Umlobokazi akazibekile phansi, uyagqashiya khona esigcawini kanye nomyeni wakhe. Kukhona okwedlula ukuvunywa ngumyeni esigcawini? Kukhona okwedlula ukuvunywa phambi kweziphathimandla namathongo esizwe? Akukho!!⁷⁹⁷

The bride leaps and dances gracefully next to her bridegroom. Is there anything surprisingly joyful as being publicly acknowledged as a loved bride? Is there anything surprisingly beautiful as being accepted before dignitaries and ancestors of the nation? None!!!

With the bride and the bridegroom officially bound in holy traditional matrimony, the aim of the whole ceremony has been fulfilled. The bride presents the beautifully embroidered sitting mat of a special grass species (isicephu esibhonqiwe sencema) to the marriage officer. He blesses the couple and wishes them good luck.

The bridal party leaves the wedding site with its clan song, leaving the groom's party singing and dancing as they entertain the crowds. The groom's party also soon leave the wedding site with its clan song. This is the first day of the Zulu traditional wedding ceremony. Both the bride's and the groom's parties spend the night at the groom's homestead waiting for the second and last day of the traditional wedding ceremony.

⁷⁹⁷ Z.L.M. Khumalo: *Ucwaningo olunzulu ngodwendwe lomdabu* (A critical analysis of traditional marriage) PhD Thesis, University of Natal, 1997, p. 378.

6.11.13. UKUQHOLISA NOKWABA

The next day will be the day when the sacrificial beast is slaughtered to officially incorporating the bride by sprinkling her with gall contents.⁷⁹⁸ This beast comes from the groom's family. This is a religious ceremony and signifies the integration of the ancestors of both parties. The gall of this beast is poured over the bride's body.⁷⁹⁹ The beast is eaten by all those attending the ceremony. The groom's family and the bride's party each receive a specific portion of meat from this beast. Therefore, there is no customary nitty-gritty after the marriage officer had finished binding the bride and the bridegroom on the wedding site.

This process is called *inkomo yokuqholisa*.⁸⁰⁰ This process is followed by several customary issues to be observed to make sure the two families, the bride's and the groom's families, brief each other about the matters of concern in their respective families. Krige says the following about the incorporation sacrificial beast:

The first step in the aggregation of the girl is the slaughter of the *umqholiso* beast in honour of the bride. The gall of this animal is poured over her head, and once she has touched this sacred part of the cattle of the kraal, she has taken the most important step in her incorporation into the kraal.⁸⁰¹

The parts sprinkled with gall differ from place to place. It happens that the bride is sprinkled with gall over her head, shoulders, knees and feet. The feet are the common place of sprinkling, and then sprinkle on her feet is sometimes enough to report her presence as the feet are always closer to the ground, the dwelling place of the ancestral spirits. The sacrificial beast for the incorporation of the bride ceremony has to be a female, a young heifer preferably. Sacrificing a male or an old cow regarded as an insult. The old cow suggests that the new bride is an old lady whose marriageable stage was long overdue (*umakoti useyisalukazi*). The young female cow, heifer, is preferable because it is at its prime stage for proliferation.

Before the incorporation beast is slaughtered, the girls from the bridal party have to come for its inspection, to see if it is the right animal, female, young and fat. The girls have a right to reject the first offer and request it to be exchanged for a better beast. If satisfied, the marksman is requested to stab it once, if the beast needs a second stabbing the negotiator has to pay a

⁷⁹⁸ P. Magubane: *Vanishing Cultures of South Africa*, p. 44.

⁷⁹⁹ B. Tyrell and P. Jurgens: *African Heritage*, p. 155.

⁸⁰⁰ P. Magubane: *Vanishing Cultures of South Africa*, p. 44.

⁸⁰¹ E.J. Krige: *The Social Systems of the Zulus*, p. 148.

requested sum of money. There are many other nitty-gritties about the slaughter of this incorporation sacrificial beast, but what is important is that the gall is used to sprinkle the bride to incorporate her into the new homestead.⁸⁰²

The second day of the traditional wedding ceremony is also the day when the bride's and the groom's families get together to inform each other about the biographies of their respective children (ukuthetha ubulanda). The parents outline what they know about their children, the strong points, weak points, ailments and observed behaviour. They make each other to have an idea of what kind of a person a bride is or a bridegroom is. Msimang says it is normally the father of the bride who initiates these talks by thanking the lobola cattle and reviewing the lobola agreements. He then proceeds to describe what type of person the bride is. Then the groom's family members take their turn to say what kind of a person the bridegroom is. They then share what expectations they have about the new family.⁸⁰³

The bride eats the meat or food brought for her from her homestead. After completion of the religious and social ceremonies to mark the union, the bride and her party will dance to express their pleasure at the successful completion of the wedding. In the afternoon after everybody had eaten their apportioned meat of the sacrificial beast, the bridal party prepares for the distribution of wedding gifts (ukwaba). Krige says the following about the preparation for the distribution of wedding gifts:

At about noon, when the girls have finished eating, they all return to the cattle kraal where the male members of the bridegroom are awaiting them. The girls will be carrying gifts - mats, blankets, beadwork, beer strainers, brooms, etc.⁸⁰⁴

The bridal company enters the kraal singing. Khumalo also agrees that the distribution of gifts is done inside the kraal even though by custom the bride is not yet allowed to enter her groom's kraal until a special ceremony. But she enters today for the ancestors to see the bride for whom

⁸⁰² For more details about this beast, you can read C.T. Msimang: *Kusadliwa Ngoludala*, p. 289; E.J. Krige: *The Social Systems of the Zulus*, pp. 147-150; A.T. Bryant: *The Zulu people as they were before white man came*, p. 552; Z.L.M. Khumalo: *Ucwangingo olunzulu ngodwendwe lomdabu* (A critical analysis of traditional marriage) PhD Thesis, University of Natal, 1997, pp. 440-474.

⁸⁰³ C.T. Msimang: *Kusadliwa Ngoludala*, p. 284.

⁸⁰⁴ E.J. Krige: *The Social Systems of the Zulus*, pp. 151-152.

the cattle left the kraal for lobola.⁸⁰⁵ Msimang introduces us to the beginning of the *Ukwaba* ceremony:

Sekuzosuka umakoti athathe udewu lwamanzi, afake amanzi nezinhlamvu zobuhlalu obumhlophe. Sekuzosondela umkhwenyana ahlale phansi esiceshini esendlalwe umakoti. Uzothi ukumgeza izinyawo bese emthela ngamanzi emzimbeni.⁸⁰⁶

The bride begins by taking a clay pot, fill it with water, and put a few white beads in the water. The groom comes and sits on the spread mats. She begins to wash his feet and pour him with water all over his body.

Both water and white beads referred to above symbolize purity in marriage. The water from the pot is also used to sprinkle the wedding gifts before they are distributed to their rightful owners. The first dramatic act of washing the groom's feet symbolize the bride's prayer to have a baby boy as the firstborn in their marriage or to have a boy who is going to be an heir to the groom. The beads that are spill to the ground when the bride pours water on her bride are the special presents she gives to the ancestors before distributing gifts to the living members of the family.

The gifts differ according to the status of the one who receives them. Those who are worthy of receiving gifts are traditionally known to everyone. It is also known what gifts are expected to be given to whom, the bride is free to add gifts according to what she can afford. As it is known who deserve the gifts, it does not matter whether they had died or left home to stay elsewhere or got married, they receive what is due to them. Among those known to receive the wedding gifts, we can mention the father of the bridegroom, his elder and younger brothers (inkosana nomagcino wakwabo), the bridegroom, his elder brother and his family's last-born, his elder sister. The recipients are called out by name to come forward to receive their gifts. The routine is always to start from the eldest to the youngest. The clay pots, beer strainers, brooms, sleeping

⁸⁰⁵ Z.L.M. Khumalo: *Ucwaningo olunzulu ngodwendwe lomdabu* (A critical analysis of traditional marriage) PhD Thesis, University of Natal, 1997, p. 515.

⁸⁰⁶ C.T. Msimang: *Kusadliwa Ngoludala*, p. 294.

mats, blankets, sitting mats are commonly used items as wedding gifts. The negotiator is also given his gifts.⁸⁰⁷

After the bride has finished distributing or sharing the wedding gifts among her in-laws, she is given a child to carry on her back. The child is usually one of the baby boys in the family. Her mother-in-law gives her the child. The child is smeared with fats or Vaseline, she kneels before her parents-in-law who come and kiss and play with the baby on the bride's back.⁸⁰⁸ This is a custom that symbolizes the time in future where she will be carrying her child on her back, especially a baby boy. It is therefore an indication that she is ready to be a mother.

The bride sings her clan song, and the bridal company leaves the kraal and returns to the huts. The bridal company packs its belongings and gets ready to go back home leaving the bride and her helper (umhlalisi/impelesi) who remains with her in the new homestead for a few months while she gets familiar with her new environment. The Zulu traditional ceremony is officially over; the bride will be there at her new homestead with her husband until death makes them part.

6.13. THE EFFECT OF MODERNIZATION ON THE ESTABLISHED ZULU WAY OF LIFE

Each ethnic group in any country has its given cultures that are unique in their own respect. What is interesting is that this culture may not be absolutely the same among all ethnic groups and even within a country. The culture of a people is what marks them out distinctively from other human societies in the family of humanity. Some features differentiate *amaZulu* from other people of the world. The effect of modernization on the Zulu way of life can be addressed by looking at four phases. These phases are political, economic, social, religious and technological effects.

6.13.1. POLITICAL EFFECTS

The coming of modernization completely distorted the organisation of African societies. Political effect included: The distortions of natural boundaries that were created by African traditional leaders. The submerged and dismantled indigenous institutions and, in its place, the

⁸⁰⁷ For more details about the gifts distributed, you can read Z.L.M. Khumalo: *Ucwaningo olunzulu ngodwendwe lomdabu* (A critical analysis of traditional marriage) PhD Thesis, University of Natal, 1997, p. 538.

⁸⁰⁸ A.T. Bryant: *The Zulu people as they were before the White men came*, p. 557.

imposition of the foreign rule which in many cases did not suit the established Zulu traditional institutions. The traditional institutions that existed among *amaZulu* before modernization were regarded as not only political authorities but also custodians of Zulu culture.

Modernisation came with British colonialism. During colonialism indigenous institutions were not respected by the colonisers instead they were used as far as they could control the indigenous population. Traditional leadership was affected by the introduction of political structures which did not suit the Africa setting. Traditional structures were then required to comply with the government's prescripts to ensure that they did not fall outside the parameters of the mandate of the colonial masters.

6.13.2. ECONOMIC EFFECTS

Before the modernisation, there were two pillars of the economy in Southeast Africa. These were agriculture and cattle ownership. However, with the imposition of modernisation and colonialism, Africa initiated an integration into the world capitalist system, within which Africa functioned primarily as a source of raw materials for Western industrial production. There was the imposition of taxation, which forced Africans into wage labour colonial economy also caused agriculture to be diverted toward the production of primary products and cash crops: cocoa, groundnut, palm oil, sisal, and so on. This period also initiated a sudden shift in production mode from the production of food crops to cash crops. This situation caused and continue to cause hunger and starvation not only among *amaZulu* but in Africa in general. This was the case because Africa began to produce more of what she needs less and produce less of what she needs most.

6.13.3. SOCIAL EFFECTS

The way houses are built now is different from the way it was; people no longer take into cognizance their peculiarity in the building process. It is as a result of modernization that traditional names are not cherished anymore among *amaZulu*. In the distant past, children were named after the deities and the traditional occupation of the family lineage, but presently, English and modernized Zulu names now dominate. People have tended to feel inconvenienced whenever they are called by their local names. In the aspect of dressing, before contact with westerners, peoples' bodies were ornamentally adorned with local materials. The types of Zulu cultural dresses worn in the past like *ibheshu*, *isidwaba*, etc. were used to promote Zulu tradition.

Modern medicine has largely taken precedence over traditional methods in matters of health. Proficiency in the Zulu language is declining in Africa because young people are compelled to embrace Western culture and civilization as Western language. Western language has created a contrast between an elite and the mass of people who still do business with a foreign language. This has led to alienation for people who cannot speak English or French. Language is a vehicle of culture.

6.13.4. TECHNOLOGICAL EFFECTS

The modern education which most children received is not rooted in Zulu culture and therefore could not foster any meaningful development within the African environment because it had no living linkage. Africans and *amaZulu* in particular were good sculptors, carvers, cloth weavers, etc. They were able to provide and satisfy the technological need of various societies. The introduction of education made Africans abandon their indigenous technological skills and education in preference to one which mainly emphasizes reading and writing. This was the prelude or foundation for the present poor technological base of African states which has perpetuated underdevelopment. Education that is not deeply rooted in a people's culture and environment cannot bring about any meaningful technological advancement.

The reduction of traditional games is another problem brought in by modernization and globalization. Most of the local games that were used to nurture and correct people in the past have been abandoned among *amaZulu*. Modern games, computer systems, cell phones, televisions, have almost entirely eradicated traditional games like stick fights (*ukungceka*), the boys also made the bulls of clay (*izinkunzi zobumba*) and made them fight (*beziqhatha*), organized group hunting (*inqina*) etc. Nowadays, parents restrict their children in the house to disassociate them from other children and to maintain their privacy and social standards. Most of these games taught respect, as you grew up knowing and respecting your seniors, peers in similar age-group and those younger than you are. There was no knife and gun brandishing that make the youths disrespectful, prone to criminal offences and die young.

6.13.5. RELIGIOUS EFFECTS

The exposure to western Christian ideas singled out as the most important factor in the process of Westernization in Africa. Western education, involving literacy and the mastery of a European language, became the condition for entry into the modern sector. This has resulted in a change in the Zulu way of life. This led to traditionalists being regarded as the custodian

of tribal customs, and the non-traditionalist being those who have changed their traditional way of life to completely adopting Westernization. For most of the colonial period, education was in the hands of the Christian missions, who sought not only to convert Africans but also to inculcate Western values. Christianity challenged traditional belief systems and promoted the diffusion of new ideas and modes of life; in particular, it sought to impose monogamy and the nuclear family as the norm.

6.14. CONCLUSION

The chapter has discussed the established cultural traditions in the Shakan Zulu state and beyond. It has dealt with their cultural traditions. This has included how traditional societies were ordered, marriage ceremonies, the role of leaders in the community, the kind of food they ate as well as their treatment of sickness and diseases. It must be said that most of these cultural patterns are still performed by *amaZulu*, but some of the established cultural tradition have been modified to suit the modern time. It is imperative, however, to state that Western civilization has taken preference over African values and culture and the latter is regarded as inferior to the former. The imposition of western civilisation has led to cultural dualism that often presents itself as a real dilemma in concrete, real-life situations not for only *amaZulu* but also Africans in general.

It could somewhat be argued that modernisation affected the tradition of the people negatively because the custodians of tradition no longer believe in the benefits of their ancient practices after the western culture diffused into their general way of life. This is not to say people should not have embraced modernisation but it, however, posits that the same modern methods could be initiated to correct negative effects. The study posits that the possible solution to this is that *amaZulu* should be educated on the importance of local games, stories of the past, indigenous technology, indigenous languages, studying the past through cultural lags (as against inertia), re-embracing local delicacies etc. Modern technological devices that are cherished by the community can assist people to embrace their cultural resources by introducing many well-packaged cultural activities on the mass media for everyone.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

This study has investigated the extent of historical development of the Zulu state over time. It has also examined various factors and circumstances which shaped and dictated the development of Emperor Shaka Zulu's state. It could be concluded that Emperor Shaka extended his Zulu state over the greater portion of this region, and later to an area extending beyond the borders of KwaZulu Natal as it is known today. Evidence indicates that with his brief 12 year rule, Shaka expanded his state to include the whole of what is known as KwaZulu Natal, the southern part of present-day Mozambique and the northern half of the old Transkei, stretching as far as uMzimkhulu River (Port St Johns), Transvaal and into Swaziland.⁸⁰⁹

When one looks at the Zulu sphere of influence during Shaka's reign one's eyes stretches even further to the Caledon River (Drakensberg Mountains on the Lesotho border) and as far north as Maputo and Leydenberg in Mpumalanga. When one goes further to look at the consequences of the rise of Zulu power one sees even further afield. It is that Zuluness which Mzilikazi carried across the Transvaal and into what is now Zimbabwe to establish what is now the Ndebele nation and also that Zuluness which the Soshangane carried across the Ubombo Mountains into Mozambique to establish the Shangaan nation north of the Delagoa Bay. Furthermore, it was the same Zuluness carried by Zwangendaba (Zwide's son fleeing from Shaka) to create the Ngoni nation in today Zambia and Tanzania. This is of importance because as they scattered all over Southern Africa, carrying the Zulu rituals and beliefs which were introduced in adopted countries. In today's Zimbabwe, Mzilikazi honoured Emperor Shaka by naming his *isigodlo* (harem) *kwaBulawayo* after Shaka's *isigodlo*.

Emperor Shaka's reforms were felt by many in South Africa. As such, evidence could be found in his izibongo:

*'Inyathi kaNdaba Ejame ngomkhonto phezu koMzimvubu amaMpondo
Ayesha ukuyeqela nani Gambushe noFaku nize ningamthinti ngoba ukuba
nimthinti lowo mtakaNdaba, ngoba niyobe nithinte uPhunga
nathint'uMageba'*

*'The buffalo of Ndaba that stood with a spear over Mzimvubu the
amaMpondo tried to intimidate with you Gambushe and Faku and don't*

⁸⁰⁹ The South African Military History Society, Cape Town Branch Newsletter No. 369, September 2009, <http://samilitaryhistory.org/9/c09sepne.html>

touch him because if you touch that son of Ndaba, you will be touching Phunga and Mageba.

UGasane kade lubagasela....., Lwagasel' uGambush' emaMpondweni, Lwagasel' uFaku emaMpondweni.

He attacked Gambushe in Pondoland, He attacked Faku in Pondoland.

On analysis from his *izibongo*, one could say that uMzimkhulu, Matatiele, Kokstad up to Mountfrere were part of Shaka's Zulu state. All the small-scale political units, small population groupings were organised in sizeable political structures. Emperor Shaka brought about dramatic changes in the organisation of traditional communities. The communities began to organise themselves into military units to defend themselves from attacks by neighbouring communities. Given the above, it becomes clear that changes in the social structures of traditional communities were accompanied by some social dynamics. These included the socio-political and socio-cultural transformation of traditional institutions in the region.

The Ndwandwe defeat of King Dingiswayo's regiments created a political transition in Southeast Africa region. Emperor Shaka took advantage of the resulting political instability and succeeded in forcing the Mthethwa to accept his overlordship. Once Emperor Shaka was able to defeat the Ndwandwe and drive them across the Phongolo River, the Zulu lineage became the predominant power in the Phongolo-Thukela region extending control over chiefdoms that formerly had been owing tribute to *amaNxumalo* of King Zwide. All the wars that followed resulted in the expansion of Emperor Shaka's domains by the process of inclusion. This is evidenced by Msimang who says the following:

*Ukhoz' olumaphikw' abanzi. Lufukamel' uZihlandlo kaGcwabe, Lufukamel' uMzilikazi kaMashobana, Lufukamel' omnyama nomhlophe...*⁸¹⁰

'The wide-winged eagle, that protected Zihlandlo of Gcwabe, Protected Mzilikazi of Mashobane, Protected blacks and whites...'

To create one state, Emperor Shaka did not conquer to subordinate; he conquered to expand, and conquest. More joined him than were conquered; they joined him to merge into the vitally growing Zulu state there were benefits for the people who did so. Emperor Shaka is likened to the Black mountain eagle for the warmth and shelter that he gave to many chiefdoms and

⁸¹⁰ C.T. Msimang: UNodumehlezi kaMenzi, p. 60.

individuals. His hospitality and generosity and the help he gave many prominent people are extolled as Msimang has shown above.

Many chiefdoms south of the Thukela River and in the coastal region became clients of the Zulu paramountcy. Emperor Shaka's *amabutho* raided 'resistant' areas far to the south of the Thukela. It must appear that his regiments raided resistant chiefdoms, not the previous versions which have depicted him as a merciless dictator and killing innocent people. His military conquest was only one of the methods employed to consolidate the Zulu state. As a result, securing conquered areas depended on Emperor Shaka's tight-fisted control over the *amabutho*, political opponents, and subjugated chiefdoms. Many conquered *amakhosi* found themselves incorporated into the lower echelons of Emperor Shaka's centralized state.

Emperor Shaka created a powerful organisation within the state which enabled the state to be administered properly and to grow from strength to strength because of the discipline and the collegial and harmonious work of all its members. Emperor Shaka brought people together could work in an organised and well-regulated society for the benefit of all. The stronger the society, the stronger the state, and the stronger the nation, the more plenty was available to all the citizens, the more life was secure and the more people could reap the rewards of their industry and sacrifices. People who were conquered would immediately fight behind Emperor Shaka to defend the state which had become their means of life and the vehicle through which their aspirations could be fulfilled.

Although he lived during the time of the domestication of women. He did not view women only as a vessel that would only bring life. He did not view women as people who could not perform some task. During his reign he allowed women to perform duties that were mentioned as men's tasks. For instance, he allowed women to form their regiments. He also allowed his aunts (Princesses Mkabayi and Mmama and Mawa *kaJama*) to have a discernible contribution to the history of the Zulu state. He allowed them to become heads of *izigodlo*. Princess Mkabayi headed the *eBaqulusini*, Princess Mmama ruled the *oSebeni* while Princess Mawa reigned over Emperor Shaka's *eNtonteleni*.

During the reign of Emperor Shaka, at the social and economic level man did not exploit man in KwaZulu as was the case in Europe. There was a far-more pronounced degree of social, economic and political equality than was evident in Britain and Europe until long after the Industrial Revolution. European and North American countries were only beginning to grope

towards modern concepts of democracy and constitutional law. Many have have written different accounts on Shaka as a tyrant. However, the study argues that the essence of leadership is the ability to persuade others to comply with one's wishes. Emperor Shaka was able to persuade people to comply with his commands.

Emperor Shaka reign proved that effective leadership is connected not only with personality make-up but also with managerial competence based upon cognitive capability, values and knowledge and wisdom, which are all used with requisite procedures to achieve predetermined goals. He used his visionary political leadership, unmatched military skills and an exceptional capacity for social construction, to create what was never seen in the history of Southern Africa.

The Zulu warriors followed Emperor Shaka's order that those willing to submit to his kingship be assimilated rather than destroyed. In this way, his state and extended the hand of his power. Those submitting to Emperor Shaka gained protection against raids, creating a Zulu dominated political and military alliance. Indeed, within three years, Emperor Shaka ruled over a larger territory and a greater population than any other single ruler in Southern Africa before him.

The formation of Emperor Shaka's paramount state had varied political effects in Southern Africa. Many Eurocentric version of Emperor Shaka have always argued that in the process of subjugation by Emperor Shaka, *amakhosi* were killed, chiefdoms fell apart and their populations were dispersed or captured. They further argue that chiefdoms disappeared and their history came to an end. This version seems not to be a true reflection of what happened. Even under conditions of growing political centralisation, pre-existing chiefdoms continued to function. Collaborating *amakhosi* remained in place and continued to regulate the affairs of their chiefdoms. These sources do not mention the *amakhosi* which they claim were killed by Emperor and the chiefdoms which they claim disappeared and their history came to an end because of Shaka wars. The myth that some chiefdoms disappeared and their history came to an end is not true. Many of the conquered chiefdoms including those who were located within the Zulu state retained a certain degree of independence. It is against that background that some of the chiefdoms even today can claim their history to and some before the reign of Emperor Shaka.

This is not to deny that some of the *amakhosi* were killed during Emperor Shaka's reign. But It must be clearly stated that only those who were defying to accept his authority were killed. Some of *amakhosi* voluntarily surrendered and other *amakhosi* together with their followers

fled and migrated to the north, south and west. This brought disruption and instability in the areas into which they fled to. For example, Mzilikazi, inkosi of the Khumalo, fled with his followers westward across the Highveld. Upon meeting resistance from attacking and counter-attacking Boer commandos, reinforced by Griqua horsemen and local *amakhosi* in 1837-38, Mzilikazi was forced to retreat northwards where he established a paramount chiefdom on the Zimbabwe Plateau.

As power was consolidated by Emperor Shaka, there were shifts in the powers of the *amakhosi*. Many aspects of the powers of some *amakhosi* were enhanced, obviously for diplomatic and security purposes, while other *amakhosi* lost theirs. The powers of *amakhosi* under Emperor Shaka and those *amakhosi* who were on the frontier of the Zulu were regionally different. This was done only for diplomatic reasons.⁸¹¹ Before Emperor Shaka, *amakhosi* were the ones who permitted men to marry.⁸¹² They were the ones who could call up men for conscription into *amabutho*. But after Emperor Shaka had centralised power those *amakhosi* who were close geographically to him, were not allowed to have *amabutho*. Somaphunga kaZwide of the Ndwandwe people, Myandeza of the Mthethwa, Msicwa and Mtshubane of the Buthelezi sections were among those who were not allowed to hold reeds ceremony and to have *amabutho* by Shaka.⁸¹³ This was presumably done to avoid them from revolting against the Zulu emperor. Some of the remaining powers of *amakhosi* were gradually undermined and eroded after the establishment of white rule in the then KwaZulu and Natal.⁸¹⁴

⁸¹¹ S. Thabethe: 'An examination of the institutions of power and the changes in the powers of chiefs in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in the Natal-Zululand region', unpubl. Honours thesis (University of Natal, 1999), pp. 34-6.

⁸¹² J. Laband: *Rope of Sand: The Rise and Fall of the Zulu Kingdom in the Nineteenth Century* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 1995), pp. 63-64.

⁸¹³ JSA, vol. 4, Evidence of Ndukwana kaMbengwana, p. 363.

⁸¹⁴ S. Taylor, *Shaka's Children: A History of the Zulu People* (London: Harper Collins, 1994), pp. 34-5.

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APPENDIX I

Per ardua ad astra
Through difficulties to the stars



AWH
(Pty) LTD

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ACADEMY OF WISDOM HOLDINGS

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27 July 2021
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EMPANGENI

Dear Sir/Madam,

RE: DOCTORAL THESIS EDITING

The above matter refers.

We are pleased to report that the Doctoral Thesis titled: "THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF STATE FORMATION PROCESS UNDER EMPEROR SHAKA ZULU AND ITS IMPACT IN SOUTHEAST AFRICA" by Mr Mthandeni Patrie Mbatha whose student number is 201143640, has been edited for the use of language. The following areas have accurately been attended to: Correction of typographical errors; Correction of names and non-English terms according to a specific reference source (style guide/dictionary); Correction of punctuation errors such as mislaid commas, incorrect dash use; Omission of inconsistent queries in the text.; Elimination of widows and orphans, other inappropriate typographical results; and Identification of errors that result from the use of computers, such as garbled tables, passages/chapters in the wrong font, use of homonyms, etc.

Our expert team has contributed by giving your thesis that stylistic shine which will ablaze your marker's eyes by determining suitable style and rearranging the material into proper structure/order for the targeted destination (external examiners), eliminating slang, redundancies, wordiness and clarification of vague vocabulary; establishing a steady style, language and point of view according to the intended audience maintaining the author's voice; improving the associations, transitions, parallelisms, and paragraphing and insurance of persistent style in headings, captions, figures, and illustrations; and suggesting additions, erasures, or re-structuring of data. We did all this at no additional costs at all.

Your comments to this report will be highly appreciated.

Yours truly,



S. Mahabeer
Senior Editor

Directors : Dr M Naidoo; Mr S Mahabeer; Dr M Lutter

APPENDIX II

**UNIVERSITY OF ZULULAND
RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE**
(Reg No: UZREC 171110-030)



RESEARCH & INNOVATION

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ETHICAL CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

Certificate Number	UZREC 171110-030 PGD 2021/10						
Project Title	The Nature and Extent of State Formation Process under Emperor Shaka Zulu and its impact in Southeast Africa						
Principal Researcher/ Investigator	M.P Mbatha						
Supervisor and Co-supervisor	Dr M.Z Shamase						
Department	History						
Faculty	Arts						
Type of Risk	Low Risk – Desktop, field work or laboratory research						
Nature of Project	Honours/4 th Year		Master's		Doctoral	x	Departmental

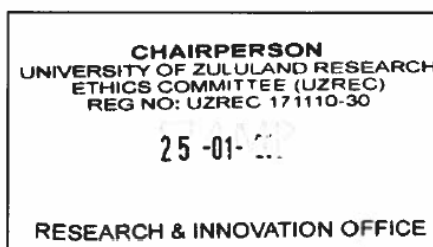
The University of Zululand's Research Ethics Committee (UZREC) hereby gives ethical approval in respect of the undertakings contained in the above-mentioned project. The Researcher may therefore commence with data collection as from the date of this Certificate, using the certificate number indicated above.

- Special conditions:**
- (1) This certificate is valid for 1 year from the date of issue.
 - (2) Principal researcher must provide an annual report to the UZREC in the prescribed format [due date-25 January 2022]
 - (3) Principal researcher must submit a report at the end of project in respect of ethical compliance.
 - (4) The UZREC must be informed immediately of any material change in the conditions or undertakings mentioned in the documents that were presented to the meeting.

The UZREC wishes the researcher well in conducting research.

Professor Mashupye R. Kgaphola
University Research Ethics Committee
Deputy Vice-Chancellor: Research & Innovation

25 January 2021



APPENDIX III

THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF STATE FORMATION PROCESS UNDER EMPEROR SHAKA ZULU AND ITS IMPACT IN SOUTHEAST AFRICA

ORIGINALITY REPORT

14%	8%	4%	9%
SIMILARITY INDEX	INTERNET SOURCES	PUBLICATIONS	STUDENT PAPERS

PRIMARY SOURCES

1	Submitted to Baltimore City College High School Student Paper	1 %
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APPENDIX IV

PARTICIPANT INFORMED CONSENT

INFORMED CONSENT DECLARATION

(Participant)

Project Title: The Nature and Extent of State Formation Process under Emperor Shaka Zulu and its impact in Southeast Africa

Mthandeni Patric Mbatha, from the Department of History, University of Zululand, has requested my permission to participate in the above-mentioned research project.

The nature and the purpose of the research project and of this informed consent declaration have been explained to me in a language that I understand.

I am aware that:

1. The principal aim of the study is to give an analysis of the nature and extent of the state formation process under Emperor Zulu and its impact in Southeast Africa. The motivation of this study is driven by the fact that research on the nature, extent and impact of the process of state formation under Emperor Shaka has been neglected by many scholars. This period is of great importance as it has produced drastic changes in the settlement pattern of Southeast Africa.
2. The University of Zululand has given ethical clearance to this research project and I have seen/ my request to see the clearance certificate.
3. By participating in this research project I will be contributing towards the production of a better understanding of the research objectives, to promote further research on the contemporary socio-economic and political history of South Africa.
4. I will participate in the project by responding to interview questions
5. My participation is entirely voluntary and should I at any stage wish to withdraw from participating further, I may do so without any negative consequences.
6. I will not be compensated for participating in the research, but my out-of-pocket expenses will be reimbursed.

7. I am aware that there is no risk associated with my participation in the project.
8. The researcher intends publishing the research results in the form of a journal article and book and/or book chapters. However, confidentiality and anonymity of records will be maintained and that my name and identity will not be revealed to anyone who has not been involved in the conduct of the research.
9. I will not receive feedback in any form regarding the results obtained during the study.
10. Any further questions that I might have concerning the research or my participation will be answered by Dr MZ Shamase of the Department of History, University of Zululand; Tel:
Email: ShamaseM@unizulu.ac.za
11. By signing this informed consent declaration I am not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies.
12. A copy of this informed consent declaration will be given to me, and the original will be kept on record.

I, Have read the above information/confirm that the above information has been explained to me in a language that I understand and I am aware of this document's contents. I have asked all questions that I wished to ask and these have been answered to my satisfaction. I fully understand what is expected of me during the research.

I have not been pressurised in any way and I voluntarily agree to participate in the above-mentioned project.

.....

Participant's Signature

.....

Date

APPENDIX V
SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. How were communities like in Southeast Africa before the rise of Emperor Shaka Zulu?

2. How did the reorganisation and expansion of the Zulu Army expand the Zulu domain?

3. How did the neighbouring kingdoms and clans react to Emperor Shaka's overlordship?

4. How instrumental were the wars of Shaka in the process of state formation in Southeast Africa?

5. How did the established cultural traditions of the Zulu become the traditions of the state?

6. Were wars of migration the African process of state formation? Explain.

7. What stimulus provided for regional political centralization in Southeast Africa?

8. What drastic changes did state formation produce in the settlement pattern of Southeast Africa?

9. Describe the type of regime that emerged after state formation under the Emperor.

10. What was the impact of the state formation process in Southeast Africa?
